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DRAVIDIAN DIASPORA: UNEXPLORED AREAS*

J. NEETHIVANAN
Madurai

I have great pleasure in taking this opportunity to express my gratitude to the Dravidian Linguistics Association for the honour bestowed upon me by electing me the President of the Association for the year 2004-05. I am happy that this occasion has given me a chance to share with you some of my thoughts regarding Dravidian Diaspora.

The term 'Diaspora' which meant 'Dispersion' was originally used collectively for the dispersed Jews. According to Robert Cohen (1993), the central idea behind diaspora is the 'the forcible scattering of peoples'. Recent studies (Floya Anthias 1998, R. Cohen 1993, 1997, Hall 1990) explain diaspora as a 'process of settlement and adaptation relating to a large range of transnational migration movements'. According to these studies, 'diaspora formulates a population as a transnational community'.

Tamils and Telugus constitute the major chunk of the Dravidian diaspora. Of the total Indian immigrants who arrived at Mauritius, 33% were from the presidency of Madras. In the following table are listed the caste names given by the immigrants upon their arrival by one ship. (Pineo 1984). These names, as identified by Dr. Ananda Murthy give an idea of the Telugu and Tamil immigrants.

Agamoody or Angamoody	Mala
Bannea	Mootheneyan
Barber	Mudr
Borethel	Mulu
Buljee or Bulgu	Muttree
Carpenter	Ooparaden

* Presidential Address at the 33rd All India Conference of Dravidian Linguists at I.S.D.L., Thiruvananthapuram from 16th to 18th June 2005.

Cavaray	Padayache
Chanayen	Padashy
Chetty	Paria
Christian	Reddy
Chuckler or Chuckla	Sailor
Comaru	Salya Chetty
Cossavar	Shepherd
Cullen	Suli
Gollu or Gollah	Telugu
Gomulla	Toddy
Gorava	Vannea
Govouru	Vallama or Yellama
Gunjune	Vellala or Vellula
Kanaher or Kanaker	Vulloovan
Kapu or Capoo	Weaver
Karumin	
Madiga	
Mahomedan or Musalman	

Except a very few names, most of other names have been identified either as Telugu or Tamil caste names. Malayalis, Kannadigas and few other communities are also found in small number in some countries. R. Cohen lists five different forms of diasporic community viz., 1) victim 2) labour 3) trade 4) imperial and 5) cultural. Almost, the entire Dravidian diaspora fall under the second form, 'labour'. Dravidian speakers migrated to a number of countries across the world mostly as indentured labourers. There are instances when during very early days some of them were taken to distant lands as 'slaves'. The modern day migration to western countries is also prompted by 'white-collar jobs' which could also be termed as another variant of 'labour'.

In his keynote address to the International Seminar on Dravidian settlers in other parts of the world, held at I.S.D.L. during 1988, Rodney Moag (1988) formulated certain criteria to identify the Dravidian diaspora. He defined Dravidian diaspora as "those areas outside South Asia where Dravidians have settled in sufficient numbers to constitute a significant percentage of the national population and to play meaningful role in the national life of the countries of which they are citizens'. By this definition he excluded those who have settled in other parts of South Asia, including the Tamils of Sri Lanka as it was 'worthy of separate study'. Moag rightly excludes the Dravidian communities in other parts of India. He excludes also the Dravidian sojourners, i.e. those who reside outside South Asia for some time for purposes of employment, retain their citizenship in a South Asian country, and return to their home country after the completion of specific work assignments or upon retirement. A large number of Malayalis who are employed in the Gulf countries are thus excluded. Moag excludes those Dravidian residents in the largely mono-cultural nations of North America and Western Europe 'since they do not play a significant role in the national life or politics of these nations'.

Some of the views of Rodney Moag need to be discussed in the light of recent studies on diaspora. His idea of excluding Dravidian communities settled in other parts of South Asia and those in Western nations run counter to the central idea of diaspora i.e. 'transnational migration'. If the Dravidian speakers have involved themselves in transnational migration and settled permanently in another country away from their homeland without the intention of returning back home, there is no reason why they should be excluded from Dravidian diaspora. After all, they have chosen a new land and nationality for their future. They cannot be treated as homeless people. The notion of excluding some communities from diaspora simply because they do not play a significant role in the national life or politics of their adopted nations should also be reconsidered. If this yardstick is applied, only communities in a few countries like Malaysia, Singapore, Sri Lanka, Mauritius and Reunion will constitute the Dravidian diaspora while a significant number in other countries will be left out. Moreover, we should keep in mind the fact that a large percentage of people in the homeland itself, those who have not migrated elsewhere, do not play a significant role in the national life or politics. Also, it is not always possible to judge the 'significant role' in an objective manner.

When diaspora is understood in terms of 'transnational migration movements', all those Dravidian communities who have migrated to another

country without the intention of returning home or transferring their earnings back home, should be treated as constituting the Dravidian diaspora.

Drawing an accurate demographic picture of the Dravidian diaspora worldwide is always cumbersome. It is true that we come across some lists of countries where Dravidian diaspora is found as provided by some scholars along with the population figures.

In most cases, this information does not seem to be authentic. Barring few exceptions, the sources of these figures are usually not based on census operations of the respective countries. A scholar who visits a particular diaspora collects this information from some social, language or religious associations who are very anxious to prove that they are very much active in preserving the original culture and identity of the diaspora for centuries. The actual population figures are rather over-estimated. A careful study of those figures as given by different people in different works proves this point.

The Handbook of Tamil Culture edited by Alagappa Rammohan (2000) (and brought out by International Tamil language foundation, Woodridge, Illinois, an organization of Tamil Diaspora in U.S.A.) has a world map marking India and 68 other countries where Tamil diaspora is to be found; the population figures are also given alongside. In the same handbook, an article by V.C. Kulandaisamy lists about 40 countries where Tamil diaspora is found along with the population figures. Both the lists do not provide the source of information. The figures are not exact; they are ‘estimates’ as Kulandaisamy has termed them. The interesting fact is that there are many contradictions between the two lists that appear in the same work. The following chart gives a few illustrations.

Tamil Diaspora

Country	Handbook Map	Kulandaisamy's estimates
Malaysia	180000	160000
Canada	100000	120000
Mauritius	150000	100000
U.S.A.	60000	40000
Australia	45000	75000
Fiji	80000	70000
Surinam	6000	100000

S. Nagarajan's 'Tamils Abroad' (1995) published by Tamil University provides the population figures of certain countries which contradict both these estimates.

R.N. Veerappan, the editor of *Ulaga-t-tamiliar* (world Tamils) perhaps has the distinction of having visited nearly forty countries where Tamil diaspora is found. He has spent nearly ten years visiting these countries before finally bringing out his work. He has also provided some population figures for each country he visited. Unfortunately, he has also not provided the source of his information. His figures are not consistent with the figures provided by others. While we do not reject all these figures as unreliable, one should be very careful while analysing them for social and language planning. The important reason for these discrepancies is that the census norms are not the same in all the countries. Chemen (2003) discusses the problems faced while trying to get the exact population figures in many countries. According to him, in most countries, "the census works always enumerate the Indian population in general, making it very difficult to get the exact language-wise figures". For example, in Malaysia and Singapore "the census works do not make provision for break-up of each Indian ethnic group" and "it is very difficult to state accurately the exact number of Tamils" residing there.

The same trend is found in United States also. When I wrote to the American Information Resource Centre requesting the language-wise break-up of Indian ethnic population in U.S.A., I was provided only with the state-wise figures of the Indian American population. According to the 2000 U.S. census, the entire population of Indian Americans was 1,678,765. It is very interesting to note that according to the Handbook of Tamil Culture brought out by the Tamil diaspora of USA, the Tamils alone constitute 60,000 speakers. And, we do not know how this figure was obtained. When the census norms do not provide language-wise break-up for all the ethnic groups, guessing games are bound to happen.

Mauritius census follows a different norm while enumerating different ethnic groups. Since every citizen is an immigrant one way or other, the census enumerates the language spoken at home and the forefathers' language. Further, an ethnic group is counted on the basis of the dominant religious group it belongs to.

The following table given by Chemen (2003) provides us with very interesting information which is not available through any normal census enumeration as followed elsewhere.

Tamil Population of Mauritius

Particulars	Population and Percentage			
	1972	1983	1990	2000
Population of Tamil religious group	70579 8.5%	N.A.	68468 6.5%	71917 6.1%
Tamil as the language of forefathers	56757 6.9%	66154 6.4%	54666 5.2%	53835 4.5%
Tamil language spoken at home	29094 3.5%	35646 3.7%	13446 1.3%	6943 0.6%

It is obvious that only 53,835 people recognized Tamil as the language of their forefathers and only 6,943 have claimed to be using it at home, i.e., only 7.8% of the Tamil population has claimed Tamil as their home language. The Handbook of Tamil culture gives the Mauritius Tamil population figure as 150,000 while R.N. Veerappan and Kulandaisamy give the figure as 100,000. It is high time that the demographers and the linguists joined hands to prepare the accurate and objective population figures of Dravidian diaspora in the larger interest of linguistic and social planning.

The difficulty in establishing the precise number of the speakers of any Indian language has been pointed out by Mugler and Lal (1999) who undertook a research project on Tamil in Fiji. They have experienced similar problems as in Mauritius since Fiji censuses do not normally include any information about language. Ethnic distinction without any distinction on the basis of the geographical origin of Indo-Fijians' ancestors in India is made. Naturally, language-wise population figures could only be an estimation. However, in 1956 and 1966, the censuses included information about language; it was perhaps too late. If two or more Dravidian Languages were spoken in a household, only one was recorded, thus under-reporting the use of other Dravidian languages. It has also been reported that Tamil has been displaced or replaced by Fiji Hindi which is now the main language of Fiji Tamilians even in the most intimate domain, the home, a view supported by Moag as well. M.V. Krishnaswamy, reporting on South African situation (2002) says that the present generation does not bother about any Indian language. They fail to understand why their parents bother so much about Indian languages which do not help them. Krishnaswamy further elaborates that for the Whites, all Indian workers were coolies and the languages spoken by them were coolie languages. Indian parents were waiting for a golden opportunity to discard their connection with the coolie language i.e.

Tamil, Telugu, Urdu, Gujarati or Hindustani, by adopting English as their language.

Regarding the Telugu situation in Mauritius, Sambasiva Rao and Rekha Sharma report (1989) that the use of Telugu has decreased and that of Creole increased within two generations, though a slight change in the trend has also been reported. For primary education, more than 80% of Telugus prefer Creole. The language of inter-group communication is Creole which accounts for 75% among the +25 age group and 92% among the elder group. The passion for cultural identity with the language is highest among Telugus but in actual use, it is the lowest according to Rao and Sharma. Just like Tamil language, Telugu is also gradually replaced by Creole.

In the United States, the third or fourth generation Indian Americans have almost lost their ethnic mother tongue according to a study made by this author (1993). R.N. Veerappan (1985) has also observed the loss of ethnic mother tongue by the Tamil immigrants in the Caribbean islands.

On Singapore situation, Ramiah (1987) reports that the parents do not perceive Tamil as having significant political or economic strength in the wider Singapore context. According to the 1980 Census, Tamil was used by 52% but it dropped to 44% in 1990. Ramiah (1992) says that there is a noticeable shift among the younger generation of Tamils towards English.

Recently there was a report in a local newspaper in Singapore that now-a-days, even the Hindu priests in temples are speaking to devotees in English. (*The Straits Times*: 4 December 2004). It also carried another item with two Tamil kids who said, "Tamil is no trouble, but it is boring". Many children prefer speaking English using it even with their Tamil-speaking grand parents. Same is the case with the Malay students too. A secondary school student preferred speaking Malay to English but feared his mother tongue will become irrelevant to him in future. Even among the majority Chinese, the attitude is gradually changing. Out of 363 Chinese Singaporeans aged from 17 to 39 questioned in a Singapore Survey, 25% did not think it necessary for Chinese Singaporeans to speak Mandarin at all (*The Straits Times*: 10 Dec. 2004). It looks as though it is a universal trend to develop such a negative attitude toward one's own mother tongue based only on materialistic considerations. "It is like you do not want to recognize your parents because they are ugly", observed a noted educationalist in

Singapore (Ibid). Jennifer Bayer (1992) has noticed similar attitude among some of the London Tamils when someone told her, "may as well go and learn tennis or swimming than spend time learning Tamil".

The religious attitudes of the Dravidian diaspora are another area requiring our serious attention just like their linguistic attitudes. As the linguistic attitudes is not conducive for the maintenance of the ethnic mother tongue the religious attitude of the Hindu diaspora is very much in favour of maintaining the traditional rituals and festivals with great enthusiasm and reverence. Construction of temples and visiting them regularly are essential duties of Dravidian diaspora. The Hindu diaspora is more religious in their day-to-day life. Festivals like *ti:miti*, *ka:vadi*, *ko:vindan* and *taipu:sam* are regularly celebrated attracting large number of people. The Hindus believe that the identity which they have lost due to the loss of mother tongue could very well be sustained by maintaining the religious identity. This trend is found among Christians too. For example in Mauritius a Christian child in the primary school is given option to choose either catechism or oriental language. Parents usually expect their child to choose catechism since the child has no other opportunity to study it outside the school. Once again, religion is placed well above the ancestral language.

At a particular point of history of Mauritius, there was free intermixing of black Creole population with the ethnic Indians, mostly Christians. These Christians lost their mother tongues much earlier than the Hindus. Some Hindus even make sweeping comments that these Christian could be recognized as Tamils only by heir names meaning that they have lost some of their original physical features. Mauritius census norms have also contributed to the division between Hindus and Christians of the same ethnic stock. The population is categorized as the Hindus, the Muslims, the Chinese and the General Population. This last category includes the Creoles, Franco-Mauritians and others of European Descent. A large number of Tamil Christians are also included under General population just like Creoles. The gap between Hindus and Christians has widened further due to this grouping.

An interesting aspect of the religious attitude of the Hindu Tamil diaspora in many countries is their attempt to distinguish their religion from Brahminical Hinduism. They are proud to call their religion 'Tamil Religion'. This has been observed by many historians. Monique Dinan (1960) has made the following observation in Mauritius. "The Tamil religion is a term and a reality which is peculiar to Mauritius and which has no

counterpart in India, even in the State of Tamilnadu In Mauritius, the Tamils differentiate themselves from those who prefer other forms of Hinduism by referring to their religious creed as Saivism the Tamils have usually developed their own religious rites and ceremonies and wish to maintain an identity as a group". Dinan further observes that the Telugus and Marathas show also the same sense of cultural identity. They want to specify their cultural as well as their religious group although such divisions are not to be found in India.

Dinan has listed the following new names associated with the Hindu Religion in 1983 Mauritius Census.

Ahir	Hindu Dharma
Aryan	Hindu Mahton
Baboojee	Hindu Rawani Kahar
Bengali	Hindu Rikyasan
Bhojpuri	Lohath
Bhaminine	Maraj
Curmy	Nuckbansee
Dravidian	Sawji
Hare Rama Krishna	Sikh
Hindu Coiri	
Hindu Chatry	

Sanatanist and Arya Samajist are supposed to be the major divisions of Hindu religion in Mauritius.

The reason for the attitude of the Hindu Tamils is that they do not want to identify themselves ethnically with other groups. If they openly acknowledge Hinduism as the marker of ethnic identity as a result of mother tongue loss they will perhaps be grouped under other Hindus, particularly the majority Bhojpuris, a prospect which many Tamils are not willing to concede. They are afraid that this may ultimately make the Hindu Tamils lose their separate identity like the Christian Tamils who have already lost their identity. These Hindu Tamils are well aware of what happened to the Tamils in Fiji, Guyana, Trinidad and other places where they are now identified with Hindi speakers. Chemen (2003) reports that 64.4% of Tamils in Mauritius are for a creation and development of a Mauritian identity. He concludes that "at the micro level Tamil Immigrants rely upon Tamil

religion as a strong identity marker to maintain their ethnic identity and at macro level use language i.e. Creole, to build a Mauritian identity.

Dravidian diaspora is found to be shifting the identity due to various pressures. Loss of linguistic identity, willingness to maintain the religious identity, compulsion to merge with the national identity of the adopted land are some of the interesting areas worth studying.

The attitude of the original homelander is also an important factor for the diaspora in maintaining the identity. The homelander usually expects the diaspora to preserve the cultural traditions and maintain the mother tongue at any cost while they themselves do not care to do so. Unless the homelander becomes an ideal role model, they cannot expect the diaspora to lead a saint's life. Many Dravidian diasporic communities have very often complained that their request for even a native language typewriter has not been obliged by the respective State governments back home.

A diaspora community has to adopt a new nationality as the result of transnational migration, a fact which many homelander do not seem to reconcile with. They expect the diaspora to be a mere extension of the homeland. Referring to Mauritius as 'Little India' is a fine example of this attitude. Mauritius is a nation entirely of so many ethnic communities from different parts of the world. As a natural process a Mauritian identity encompassing all of them is being built there. This new identity has to be recognised and honoured by all homelander who should accept the universal fact that language loyalty will persist only as long as the economic and social circumstances are conducive to it and if some other language proves to have greater value a shift to that other language will begin' (quoted in Krishnaswamy 2002). If the homelander cannot provide this conduciveness, they cannot expect the diaspora to maintain the language at any cost.

One of the remarkable achievements of the Dravidian diaspora is the formation of a casteless society. Names such as Padayacci, Naidoo, Govender, Moodley, Chetty, Pillai etc. are very commonly found among Dravidian diasporic society even today. But they are all used only as surnames and do not have any caste significance. When the European masters demanded to know the surnames of the indentured labourers from India, they had no other alternative except giving their caste names to fill in that column for surname. In the actual life caste differences have almost disappeared. Perhaps some members of the oldest generation are conscious about these differences, but the present generation is totally ignorant of

them. This may be due to inbreeding as a result of the small size of the population. Inter-caste, love marriages are very common and people usually do not bother about the possible caste differences. Krishnaswamy reports that in South Africa 90% of the marriages are love marriages which normally cross caste boundaries and help to form a casteless society. This is the situation found among both Tamils and Telugus. Of late, marriages among different linguistic communities of Indian origin are also taking place. These marriages help to strengthen the new national identity of the diasporic communities. This is an area which deserves an extensive research by sociologists, the findings of which could be useful for the homelanders.

Considering the problems in drawing accurate demographic pictures of the Dravidian diaspora in many countries, attempts must be made to convince the respective governments to follow universal census norms with the help of some United Nations Agencies. Since most of the members of the Dravidian diaspora are losing their mother tongue in favour of another dominant language we have to devise a method as to how they are going to be identified in future. We must decide whether we can make a distinction between a 'Dravidian Personality' and 'the Creole speaker of Dravidian origin'. Right type of text books conducive to the environment of the nation concerned should be prepared on the basis of second language teaching methodology. Folk literature as available today among the diaspora should be collected and preserved.

Considering the amount of financial requirements for investigations among the diaspora in different countries, the study on diaspora has remained largely a neglected field. There are many areas to be explored and the field is wide open. It is up to the research institutes in various countries to evolve suitable plans and raise enough funds for the study.

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TWO LECTURES ON TRANSLATION*

PANCHANAN MOHANTY

Centre for Applied Linguistics and Translation Studies
University of Hyderabad

Lecture I

TRANSLATION STUDIES REVISITED

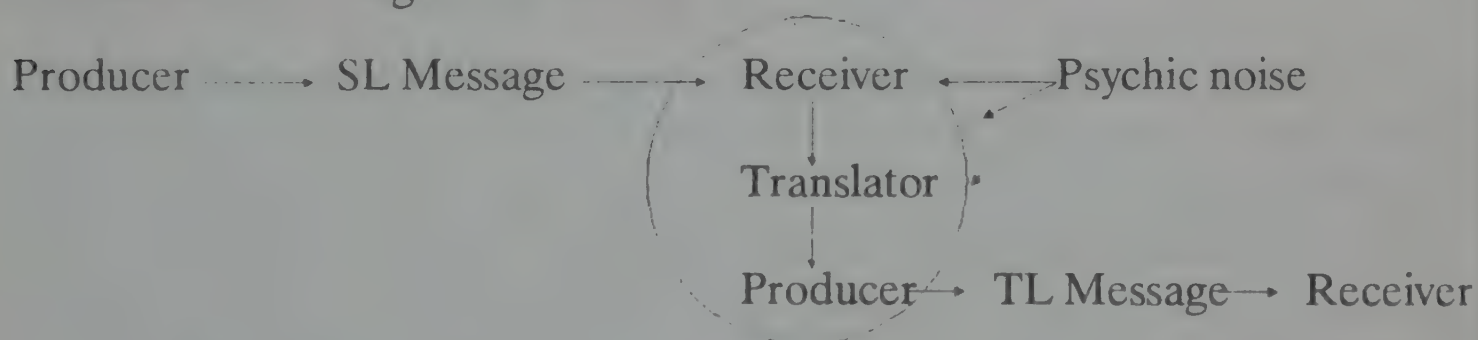
"The goal of the discipline is to produce a comprehensive theory which can also be used as a guideline for the production of translations. The theory would gain by being developed along lines of argument which are neither neo-positivist nor hermeneutic in inspiration ... and constantly tested by case-histories." (Lefevere 1978: 234-235).

While discussing the basic conflicts in translation theory, Eugene A. Nida, probably the most celebrated translation theorist of the world, states: "Despite major shifts of viewpoints in translation during different epochs and in different countries, two basic conflicts, expressing themselves in varying degrees of tension, have remained. These fundamental differences in translation theory may be stated in terms of two sets of conflicting "poles": (1) literal vs. free translating, and (2) emphasis on form vs. concentration on content. These two sets of differences are closely related but not identical, for the tension between literal and free can apply equally well to both form and content. However, in general, the issues are not well defined. For the most part, such expressions as literal vs. free, translation vs. paraphrase, and words vs. sense are essentially battle-cries for those who wish to defend their work or criticize the work of others. Rarely are these conflicting views analysed in detail or the implications of such principles worked out carefully in actual practice". (Nida 1964: 22-23). A careful look at the literature on translation theory and a study of translation products reveal that entirely different methods are followed in translating the same text and, as a result,

* A commemoration lecture on A.P. Andrews Kutty held on 28th March 2005 in the Tamil University, Tanjavur where Andrews Kutty expired while lecturing on 1st November 2004.

widely divergent views are expressed as to what translation theory should be like. For this reason, this paper intends to take a comprehensive view of the field of translation and tries to make generalizations about the boundaries and principles of translation theory and practice.

Before discussing the problems of translation proper, I think it appropriate to mention about an experiment Manmohan Thakore has reported in his paper "Some problems of translation" (1968). A tape-recorded message of about 15 lines dealing with the usual office routine was relayed by a group ranging from the senior executives to despatch clerks working in a reputed company of Calcutta. The end-result was amazing. It was almost opposite to the intended meaning of the original text. Though this experiment was conducted in a monolingual, i.e. intra-lingual environment, it assumes great significance as it was concerned with communicating another person's ideas. This problem becomes manifold when it comes to translation, which is 'inter-lingual communication'. The translator actually negotiates between the source language text (SLT) and the target language text (TLT) and also plays both the roles, i.e. receiver of the source-language (SL) message and producer or sender of the target-language (TL) message. In this process, s/he is often subjected to 'psychic noise' (Kassühlke 1976: 288) which, in turn, causes differences between the SLT and TLT. It can be schematised in a diagram as follows:



It will not be out of place to mention that the French humanist Etienne Dolet (1509-1546), one of the earliest scholars to theorize translation, was "... tried and executed for heresy after 'mistranslating' one of Plato's dialogues in such a way as to imply disbelief in immorality." (Bassnett-McGuire 1980: 54). So the critical question is: How to translate?

Though Benjamin (1923:16) argues that "if translation is a mode, translatability must be an essential feature of certain works", the concept of translatability is not quite tangible or, rather, concrete. He again states: "Unlike the words of the original, it (the nucleus) is not translatable, because the relationship between content and language is quite different in the original and the translation. While content and language form a certain unity in the original, like a fruit and its skin, the language of the translation

envelops its content like a royal robe with ample folds." (Ibid. 19). Then, by translating and retranslating into some 25 languages, Osgood (1971) has shown that "culture fair" nouns like house, fire, stone are easy to translate. Problems crop up when the social distance between the SL and the TL is large. An increase of this distance is concomitant with the increase of 'psychic noise', and that is why in such cases we notice a tendency to naturalize the SLT by making it 'de-centered', which, according to Werner and Campbell (1970), means change of SL material so that it sounds smooth and natural in the TL. What it implies is that when the culture of the SLT is different from that of the TLT, the translation is likely to be free whereas this need not be the case in a multilingual society sharing the same culture. Acceptance of this position will raise questions about Bassnett's (1980:11) following statement: "Underlying this discussion of translation is the belief that there are general principles of the process of translation that can be determined and categorized, and ultimately, utilized in the cycle of text-theory-text regardless of the language involved." However, based on their research on cross-cultural communication, Brislin, Lonner and Thorndike (1973) have formulated rules for writing a translatable language that can be easily rendered into other languages. Those rules are as follows:

1. "Use short, simple sentences of less than 16 words.
2. Employ the active rather than the passive words.
3. Repeat nouns instead of using pronouns.
4. Avoid metaphor and colloquialisms. Such phrases are least likely to have equivalents in the target language.
5. Avoid the subjunctive mood (e.g., verb forms with could, would).
6. Add sentences that provide context for key ideas. Reword key phrases to provide redundancy. This rule suggests that longer items and questions be used than in single-country research.
7. Avoid adverbs and prepositions telling where or when (e.g., frequent, beyond, upper).
8. Avoid possessive forms wherever possible.
9. Use specific rather than general terms (e.g., the specific animals such as cows, chickens, pigs, rather than the general term, livestock).
10. Avoid words indicating vagueness regarding some event or thing (e.g., probably, frequently).

11. Use wording familiar to the translators wherever possible.
12. Avoid sentences with two different verbs if the verbs suggest two different actions" (quoted in Brislin (Ed.) 1976: 22-23).

It is commonplace that most writers are not aware of these rules when, at the same time, they desire that their works should be read by other language speaking readers. According to Venuti (1992: 4), "A translated text is judged successful - by most editors, publishers, reviewers, readers, by translators themselves - when it reads fluently, when it gives the appearance that it is not translated, that it is the original, transparently reflecting the foreign author's personality or intention or the essential meaning of the foreign text." Notice that here the criteria of fluency and transparency are considered essential for the success of a translation, and Venuti calls it 'fluent translation strategy', which "... aims to efface the translator's crucial intervention in the foreign text: he or she actively rewrites in a different language to circulate in a different culture, but this very process results in a self-annihilation, ultimately contributing to the cultural marginality and economic exploitation which translators suffer today. At the same time, a fluent strategy effaces the linguistic and cultural difference of the foreign text: this gets rewritten in the transparent discourse dominating the target language culture and is inevitably coded with other target-language values, beliefs, and social representations, implicating the translation in ideologies that figure social differences and may well arrange them in hierarchical relations (according to class, gender, sexual orientation, race, nation). In this rewriting, a fluent strategy performs a labour of acculturation which domesticates the foreign text, making it intelligible and even familiar to the target-language reader, providing him or her with the narcissistic experience of recognizing his or her own culture in a cultural other, enacting an imperialism that extends the dominion of transparency with other ideological discourses over a different culture." (Venuti 1992: 4-5).

In fact, it was Itamar Even-Zohar, who set the new agenda of translation studies in the 1970s and set the ball rolling through his famous poly-system theoretical approach to translation by including translation as a part of the literary poly-system in his seminal publication *Papers in Historical Poetics* (1978). Besides providing a freshly different theoretical framework for a systematic analysis of literary translations, he is the first to draw our attention to the fact that translated literature plays a significant role in the evolution of national culture. His contention is that intensive translation activities take place under the following three conditions:

- (i) in the initial phase of the development of a literature,
- (ii) if a literature considers itself weak and/or marginalized,
- (iii) at the time of turning points or vacuums in the life of a literature.

With all these, the binary distinction between the 'original' and the 'translation' became blurred, and all sorts of questions that were not conceivable earlier began to be asked. It will not be out of place to mention here that there was no such distinction made in India until the medieval period. The absence of a proper term for 'translation' in Sanskrit makes it clear that it was never an activity worth mentioning in the past. Trans-creation of an earlier literary text was the norm. In fact, the concept of translation, as we understand it today, was imported from the West during the Renaissance in the 19th century. In addition, the concept of faithfulness in translation was introduced and strengthened through close translations of the Bible into different languages.

While commenting on Walter Benjamin's essay *The task of the translator* (1923), which calls translation 'after-life'¹ of an SLT, poststructuralist thinkers like Jacques Derrida valorise the translated text by stating that "The translation will truly be a moment in the growth of the original, which will complete itself in enlarging itself ... And if the original calls for a complement, it is because at the origin it was not there without fault, full, complete, total, identical to itself." (quoted in Venuti 1992: 7). This is how the originality of the SLT is replaced by inter-textuality between SLT and TLT in the poststructuralist discourse. Immediately after this, translation has been a favourite hunting ground for literary scholars with different ideologies. I want to discuss here the feminist scholar Lori Chamberlain's essay "Gender and the metaphors of translation" (1992), which centres around the sexualisation of translation. Taking into account the French tag *les belles infidèles*, Chamberlain (1992: 58) argues "... like women, the adage goes, translations should be either beautiful or faithful. The tag is made possible both by the rhyme in French and by the fact the word 'traduction' is a feminine one, thus making *les beaux infidèles* impossible. This tag owes its longevity - it was coined in the seventeenth century - to more than phonetic similarity: What gives it appearance of truth is that it has captured a cultural complicity between the issues of fidelity in translation and in marriage. For *les belles infidèles*, fidelity is defined by an implicit contract between

1. "Just as the manifestations of life are intimately connected with the phenomenon of life without being of importance to it, a translation is sues from the original - not so much from its life as from its after life" (Benjamin 1923/2000: 16), emphasis mine).

translation (as woman) and original (as husband, father, or author). However, the infamous 'double standard' operates here as it might have in traditional marriages: the 'unfaithful' wife/translation is publicly tried for crimes the husband/original is by law incapable of committing. This contract, in short, makes it impossible for the original to be guilty of infidelity."

The point to be noted here that she interprets translation as woman and the original as man or patriarch and then refers to the double standard or differential treatment to both. Notice that Chamberlain has emphasized the socio-cultural aspects of the SLT and the TLT here. There are many other scholars who have approached translation from this point of view, and they treat the TLT as an independent text that exists on its own right. The following extract from Andri Lefevere, a leading comparatist and translation theorist, will drive home the point: "Translation is not just 'a window opened to another world', or some such pious platitude. Rather, translation is a channel opened, often not without a certain reluctance, through which foreign influences penetrate the native culture, challenge it and even contribute to subverting it." (Lefevere 1992: 2). I want to point out here that Lefevere has preferred to use 'translation' again in the second sentence instead of the pronoun 'it', and he does not like translation to be a 'pious platitude'. Susan Bassnett has been more vocal about it in many of her writings. The following are representative extracts of her considered opinion.

"To attempt to impose the value system of the SL culture onto the TL culture is dangerous ground, and the translator should not be tempted by the school that pretends to determine the original intentions of an author on the basis of a self-contained text. The translator cannot be the author of the SL text, but as the author of the TL text has a clear moral responsibility to the TL readers". (Bassnett-McGuire 1980: 23), and

"Writing does not happen in a vacuum, it happens in a context and the process of translating texts from one cultural system into another is not a neutral, innocent, transparent activity. Translation is instead a highly charged, transgressive activity, and the politics of translation and translating deserve much greater attention than has been paid in the past." (Bassnett 1993: 160-161).

In other words, these scholars are more interested in the cultural aspects as well as politics of translation rather than translation *per se*. A number of such scholars always consider translation in combination with

the discipline of comparative literature. Needless to say that culture analysis is the lifeline of comparative literature. It has been clearly voiced in the introductory remarks of the editors Susan Bassnett and André Lefevere in their book *Translation, History and Culture* (1990): "Translation has been a major shaping force in the development of world culture and no study of comparative literature can take place without regard to translation". (Bassnett & Lefevere 1990: 12) However, as linguists, we do not involve ourselves in the politics of language though we do discuss it. For us, all languages are equally important and our role in the analyses of languages is pious, neutral, and non-transgressive. So instead of looking at translation studies as a unitary structure, we can broadly classify it into the following sub-divisions:²



Micro-translation studies encompass that area wherein translation is both the means and the goal of the study. On the other hand, in macro-translation studies, translation is just the means or instrument to achieve some other goal. As I consider the micro-translation studies worth doing, let us look at it from this point of view.

Lecture II

TRANSLATION THEORY AND PRACTICE

"A translation is something that has to be discussed. In too many schools and universities, it is still being imposed as an exercise in felicitous English style, where the warts of the original are ignored. The teacher more or less imposes a fair copy of which is a 'model' of his own English rather than proposing a version for discussion and criticism by students, some of whom will be brighter than he is." (Newmark 1988: 20).

In his essay "Cultural Relativism Reconsidered: Comparative Literature and Intercultural Relations", Douwe W. Fokkema, a front-ranking comparatist, states: "Of course, a literal translation of a poem on the common

2. Pound (1918/2000: 33) has made a distinction between "interpretative translation" and "making a new poem" which may be comparable to our micro- and macro-translation respectively. Venuti (2003: 5) also uses the categories like "instrumental" as opposed to "hermeneutic" for similar purposes.

theme of love or departure may also inspire a foreign reader, and provide him with a new outlook, but usually such an effect will not be produced by his insight into the original (intended) meaning of the text, but by a naive or deliberate misunderstanding". (Fokkema 1987: 20). In other words, his contention is that poetry should not and cannot be translated literally if an equivalent effect of the source text on its readers is intended on the target language readership. However, there are other scholars who recommend close translation for poetry. While comparing the two German translations of Baudelaire's *Recueillement*, one by Stefan George and the other by Walter Benjamin, Marilyn Gaddis Rose, in her stimulating paper "Walter Benjamin as a translation theorist: a reconsideration" (1982), argues that Benjamin 'goes into literal English more easily than George's, and is not far removed semantically from a literal plain prose translation of, the original', and 'Benjamin is working with the word' when 'George works with a larger prosodic unit'; therefore, George is a better translator than Benjamin. On the other hand, Peter Newmark, a leading translation theorist, goes one step further than Rose and accepts George as "the greatest of all translators of poetry"; but at the same time he clearly demonstrates that George "is more literal in his translation of words as well as the structures' than Benjamin (Newmark 1988: 70). In fact, Newmark's recommendation is that 'serious imaginative literature' has to be translated literally. According to him, "Literal translation is the first step in translation, and a good translator abandons a literal version only when it is plainly inexact or ... badly written. A bad translator will always do his best to avoid translating word for word. Recreative translation which means, roughly, translating the thoughts behind the words, sometimes between the words, or translating the sub-text, is a procedure which some authorities and translation teachers regard as the heart or the central issue of translation ('get as far away as possible from the words'). The truth is the opposite: 'interpret the sense, not the words' is, to my mind, the translator's last resource; an essential resource, certainly, and a touchstone of his linguistic sensibility and creativity, not to mention his alertness and perspicacity, when words mislead. Further contextual recreation is likely to be more common in interpretation, if delegates are speaking off the cuff, than in written language translation, where words are more carefully measured and perhaps closer to thought." (Newmark 1988: 76). Alan Duff, in his stimulating book entitled *The Third Language: Recurrent Problems of Translation into English*, also expresses a similar view: "Whatever goes on in the writer's head must go in the translator's head as well. The writer and the translator share the same thoughts, although they express them in different languages. The quality of the writing will directly affect the quality of the translation, so too will the quality of the thought".

(Duff 1984: xi). He further states: "What I mean is that the thought and care invested by the translator should be directly proportional to the thought and care invested by the writer. The translator must think with the writer, but he cannot do this thinking for him." (Ibid.: 126) Needless to say that the positions taken by Fokkema and Rose on the one hand and Newmark and Duff on the other hand are contrasting, and due to this wide divergence in the views among practitioners and theorists, translation studies has remained an extremely fascinating area even after two millennia of its existence.

I want to emphasize here that many translato-logists forget the fact that translation is out and out a language activity. That is why they ignore the word and search for the sense, miss the lines and read between the lines, spare the text and focus on the sub-text³. We fully agree with George Steiner, an influential translation theorist, who believes that a theory of translation has to stand on a theory of language and states: "A study of translation is a study of language." (Steiner 1975: 47) Thus, it can be argued that construction of a theory of translation has to draw on a theory of language, and translation criticism ought to make use of the tools of language analysis. Further, it should be mentioned that translation is no more a unitary activity. Unlike in olden times, it is neither a pastime for a few literati nor confined mostly to classical literature. Today's translation activity is much more concerned with subjects like religion, science, medicine, engineering, agriculture, economics, politics, psychology, sociology, law, journalism, trade and commerce, management, computer applications, interior decoration, home science, cooking, yoga, sports, Feng Shui, etc. Then, from books and articles, it has been extended to pamphlets, leaflets, publicity materials, advertisements, notices, application forms, hotel menu cards, and covers of different consumer goods, etc. Not only that, these translated non-literary texts vastly outnumber and outweigh the literary texts, and translation has become a profession out of which a large group of people make a living all over the world. Finally, along with writers, literary critics, philosophers, and linguists, scholars from the fields of theology, sociology, psychology, information theory, and mathematics, etc. have taken keen interest in translation studies. Due to this "new sense of a shared interest in a common set of problems, approaches, and objectives on the part of a new grouping of researchers", W.O. Hagstrom (1965) has called it a

3. In creative translation, the sub-text is emphasized. This kind of translation "... usually has the following features: (a) a 'surface' translation is not possible; (b) there are a variety of solutions, and ten good translators will produce this variety; (c) the translation is what the writer meant rather than what he wrote. The solution closest to the original is the best pragmatically, has to be weighed against referential accuracy, and there is no clearly superior version." (Newmark 1988: 191).

disciplinary utopia. (see Holmes 1972: 172). All these facts need to be taken into account in the construction of a comprehensive theory of translation germane to the modern globalised world, and secondly, the approach has to be a bottom-up or descriptive one so that we can have "... an understanding of the processes undertaken into the act of translation and, not, as is so commonly misunderstood, to provide a set of norms for effecting the perfect translation". (Bassnett-McGuire 1980: 37) That is why Aaltomen (1996: 45) prefers to treat translation as "work in progress".

It should be mentioned at this point that James S. Holmes (1972/2000) has divided the entire field of translation studies into three distinct branches, i.e. descriptive, theoretical, and applied. His contention is that even not the order in which these three have been presented make their relations look unidirectional, which we may call 'linear', it is actually dialectical, which we may call 'spiral', as each one is dependent on the other two for materials and also utilizes their findings. He further classifies descriptive translation studies into three branches, i.e. product-oriented, function-oriented, and process-oriented. Out of these, the product-oriented approach has always dominated the field. Though the process-oriented or 'translation as process' approach is talked about, hardly any systematic attempt has been made to determine the process. In fact, these two are more widely known than the function-oriented approach, which has been subsumed under translation histories. It is this approach I want to emphasise in this paper.

Wilss (1982: 111), quoting I.A. Richards (1953), who calls translation most probably "... the most complex type of event yet produced in the evolution of the cosmos", expresses his doubt: "... it is questionable whether research in the field of translation procedures will, in the foreseeable future, be able to come up with any exhaustive classification system giving sufficient consideration to all types of texts relevant to translation." Then, many translation critics and teachers do not make any distinction among the above-mentioned texts, which have different forms and perform different functions. They tend to believe that all these texts can be translated in the same manner, and, as expected, this belief leads them to undesirable results. However, the reality is that translation is a big industry in today's world, and a theory or theories must be formulated to account for it.

Scholars like Susan Bassnett (1993: 150) hold the view that "... it is the pedagogic role that seems to have acquired the greatest power, for it is here that the idea of accuracy as something that can be measured is all

important" in translation pedagogy, because different texts are intended to perform different functions; so it is natural that the methods of translating them are also different. My contention is that this should form the core of translation pedagogy. In fact, a number of scholars have tried to construct their theories of translation with reference to the functional theory of language based on Karl Bühler's 1934 *organon* theory wherein he has proposed a three-way division of language functions, i.e. the representational, the conative, the expressive. Bell (1991), Halliday (1973), Jakobson (1960), Newmark (1988), Nida (1975), among others have adopted and accepted Bühler's tripartite model, which, in a nut-shell, is as follows: i.e. the emotive function is performed when the focus is on the speaker or producer, the conative function is performed when the focus is on the addressee or receiver, the referential function is performed when the focus is on the referent or subject matter. The remaining three less important functions mentioned by Jakobson (1960), viz. the poetic, the phatic, and the meta-lingual, are supposedly subsumed under the emotive, the conative, and the referential functions respectively. Therefore, instead of going for the popular formal typology of texts, because of the fuzziness in their classification, Newmark (1988) opts for a functional typology, which is founded on the above-said three main functions of language. He has renamed the emotive, the referential, and the conative functions as the expressive, the informative, and the vocative functions respectively, and various text forms are categorized under these three types of functions like the following:

Table 1

Function	Expressive	Informative		Vocative
Core	Writer	Truth		Readership
Author's status	Sacred	Anonymous		Anonymous
Type of text	Serious imaginative literature Authoritative statements Autobiography Personal correspondence	Topic	Format	Notices
		Scientific Technological	Textbook Report	Instructions Propaganda
		Commercial	Paper	Publicity
		Industrial Economic	Article Memo-randum	Popular fiction
		Other areas of knowledge or events	Minutes	

[Adapted from Newmark (1988: 40)]

Notice that the author's status is 'sacred' in expressive texts whereas it is 'anonymous' in informative and vocative texts. Newmark (1988: 47-48), therefore, recommends semantic translation, "which is personal and individual, follows the thought processes of the author, tends to over-translate, pursues nuances of meaning, yet aims at concision in order to reproduce pragmatic impact", for expressive texts and communicative translation, "which is social, concentrates on the message and the main force of the text, tends to under-translate, to be simple, clear and brief, and is always written in a natural and resourceful style", for both informative and vocative texts. Since the discussion on 'translational equivalence' is almost amorphous, towards the end of her discussion on various kinds of equivalence Mona Baker (1992) expresses the view that what is important is not how equivalence is achieved, but what kind of equivalence is achieved and in which context. According to her, "The context in which an utterance occurs determines the range of implicatures that may sensibly be derived from it. ... Apart from the actual setting and the participants involved in an exchange, the context also includes the co-text and the linguistic conventions of a community in general" (Baker 1992: 238). Therefore, Newmark (1988: 48-49) argues that translation of expressive texts, being more cultural and having individual readers, are likely to have much less equivalent effect on the TL readers. This effect is "desirable" only in respect of the "insignificant emotional impact" in the translated informative texts whereas it is "essential" in the case of vocative texts where there is a very large readership. Then, regarding the method of translating these texts, he states: "In expressive texts, the unit of translation is likely to be small, since words rather than sentences contain the finest nuances of meaning; further, there are likely to be fewer stock language units (colloquialisms, stock metaphors and collocations, etc.) than in other texts". This statement clearly implies that expressive texts need to be translated very closely or literally. But with reference to the remaining two types of texts, his opinion is that informative texts "... are translated more closely than vocative texts." (Newmark 1988: 50).

It is well known that there is no consensus among translato-logists as to what should be the unit of translation. In fact, it varies from the word to the whole text, and still there is no end to this debate. With reference to the three types of texts under discussion, Newmark (1988: 67) has proposed that there can be three different units of translation, i.e. the word in an expressive text, the collocation and the group (phrase or clause) in an informative text, and the sentence and even the whole text in a vocative text. These facts can be expressed in a tabular form as follows:

Table 2

	Expressive	Informative	Vocative
Characteristic	Personal	Social	Social
Method of translation	Semantic and Over-translation	Communicative and Under-translation	Communicative and Under-translation
Readership	Individual	Group	Mass
Equivalent effect	Much less	Desirable	Essential
Unit of translation	Small (word)	Collocation, clause	Sentence, Text

A careful look at the above table makes it evident that though informative and vocative texts have been treated as belonging to one group and the same communicative translation has been recommended for both, they deserve independent status and identity. Thus, these three text-types can be placed on a cline like the following whose two poles are expressive and vocative texts with informative texts in the middle, and the methods of translating them should be semantic, communicative, and semantico-communicative (in the absence of a better term) respectively.

Table 3

Text type	Expressive texts	Informative texts	Vocative texts
Translation Method	Semantic translation	Semantico-communicative translation	Communicative translation

To sum up, the main points discussed in this paper are as follows: (i) When there is a social distance between the SL and the TL along with an increased ‘psychic noise’, the SLT is normally naturalized; and this naturalization causes not only cultural marginality but also economic exploitation on the part of the translators; (ii) Translation Studies can be divided into two major divisions: (a) micro-translation studies wherein translation is both the means and the goal of the study and (b) macro-translation studies which aims at achieving some other goal, e.g. culture analysis, by using translation as a means; (iii) As translation is a thorough language activity, any construction of a translation theory has to draw on a theory of language; (iv) Today, each and every human activity is in the gamut of translation, and the non-literary texts outnumber and outweigh the literary texts. Therefore, a comprehensive translation theory must consider these facts and be descriptive, not prescriptive in nature; (v) Since each text is intended to perform a

language function, many scholars have chosen the functional theory of language as the foundation for their translation theory; (vi) Due to fuzziness in the formal classifications of texts, a functional categorization into three groups, i.e. the expressive, the informative, and the vocative is preferable; (vii) Contrary to the view of a group of scholars that literary translation needs to be free it has been argued that translation of a literary text is more successful if it closely follows the original. It is the vocative texts that can be translated freely in order to bring about an equivalent effect on the large target language readership. An informative text stands in between these two types of texts, and the method of translating it is partly like the expressive texts and partly like the vocative texts. Translation pedagogy has to take all these into account in order to have a sound theoretical basis and social relevance.

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DRAVIDIAN AND ALTAIC - IN SEARCH OF A NEW PARADIGM*

JAROSLAV VACEK
Prague

0. Introduction

In this paper I should like to point out some of the problems which have emerged during my study of this interesting, I dare say exciting, but at the same time, possibly slightly controversial topic.¹ In recent years, I have realised that in order to understand and interpret the available linguistic material in a more comprehensible manner, we have to adopt alternative principles of analysis and presentation. It is a matter of further development to determine, to what extent this will be easy or difficult to achieve. But I should like to underline that it is the material, which forces me to think of

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[Editor]

1. It should be noted that over the years I have written two summaries, cf. Vacek 1987a and 1996a, and a brief summary in 1992 (Vacek 1992a). These summaries reflect the development of my views on the subject, which took a certain turn after 1996, particularly as a consequence of including the lexical material from other Altaic languages besides Mongolian.

Some of the examples mentioned below were used in my earlier summary (Vacek 1996a), at that time without further Altaic parallels. The extension of the lexical material by other Altaic languages was a slow process and its first reflection may be seen in my 1996b paper. However, not in all cases do we find representatives of all the major Altaic branches. The abbreviations of languages are those used in the respective dictionaries.

Just before this paper was printed, I was able to consult the newly published work of Starostin, Dybo, Mudrak (2003), a monumental dictionary, which by its extent and depth, will certainly be a great incentive for the further development of comparative Altaic linguistics. I was not able to respond to it too extensively, but after each of the numbered items below, I refer to some of the respective etyma in that dictionary. The fact that our etymological 'nests' do not always exactly tally is a matter of the perspective adopted for research. It cannot be dealt with at length here, but I am sure that it will be a motivation for further dialogue and research.

new techniques of arrangement and interpretation. In the case of the Dravidian and Altaic comparison, it is especially a question of how to accommodate the relatively great number of 'variants' and the great number of examples for some of the etyma (especially those belonging to basic vocabulary). Below, I offer a few ideas on how to deal with the formal and semantic aspects of the material in the process of studying this specific case of linguistic relationship. At the same time, I demonstrate the relationship by a list of a relatively small number of select lexical examples representing relatively simple (almost 'one-to-one') parallels as well as those of a more complex nature.

It should be made clear from the very beginning that I do not 'believe' in a Dravidian and Altaic language family or super-family, which I have underlined several times. I have already said elsewhere (Vacek 1993, 401) that 'belief' is not the proper frame of mind for any research, particularly if it provides a bias for the expected results. Belief is acceptable only in the sense that one believes a certain problem to be worth investigating, without however determining or conditioning the results of the activity. In that sense, I believe that the similarities of Dravidian and Altaic deserve more attention and should be thoroughly investigated and evaluated.

The reason for this is simple. When some twenty-nine years back I started to learn Mongolian, I was surprised to see several parallels with Dravidian, which were obvious from the very beginning. A more systematic study of these parallels brought some more interesting facts to light. However, I cannot say that all the parallels I have found so far satisfy my (perhaps rather intuitive) idea about what should be accepted as a language family. Still, the parallels and similarities are sometimes so striking that it seems to be hardly a matter of coincidence. On the other hand, though a certain portion of the parallels appears to be rather systematic; a great number of them are quite variable and seemingly even contradictory. This may very well be documented by the established sound correspondences (Vacek 1981) as well as lexical parallels (Vacek 1983, 1992, etc.). Variation of forms also appears to be a conspicuous feature in the systematically and structurally arranged lexical material for 'water - viscosity - cold' (Vacek 2002a).

On the Altaic side, the comparison involves a wide range of languages - not just Mongolian, but also Turkic and Manchu-Tungus languages. Occasionally, we can also see very clear parallels with the 'marginal'

languages,² like Korean and Japanese. And indeed, there are parallels with the Uralic languages as well (cf. Vacek 2000, 2001a, 2002a). In the following, I will refrain from discussing the possible implications of including the broader linguistic contexts, like Japanese, Korean, or even Elamite - which are all candidates for a membership in this linguistic mosaic. But, for further research in this subject, it should be kept in mind that the parallels, found especially in the basic vocabulary and particularly in the verbal roots of the main language branches (Dravidian, Mongolian, Manchu-Tungus, Turkic), are tentative and will have to be verified and reconsidered very systematically in the context of more extensive material evidence in future.

The problems of studying such a linguistic relationship involve aspects of heuristics as well as interpretation. The **heuristic** aspect³ is mainly

2. This term was used by me in 1987 (Vacek 1987a) where I spoke about the 'axial relations' (p. 137) of Dravidian with the two major language branches, Mongolian and Turkic (to which I would now add Manchu-Tungus), and with the marginal languages (p. 139f.) - viz. Elamite (proposed by D. McAlpin) and Japanese (proposed by Susumu Ohno), to which Korean should be added. Some suggestions on the study of the relation of Dravidian and some of the 'marginal' languages were summed up by K.V. Zvelebil (1991, plus further references; for a general discussion, cf. also Zvelebil 1990, 99ff. and Vacek 1987a). In this paper, I should not discuss the problems concerning the Altaic theory itself, its ramifications and pitfalls, which often point to a cul-de-sac. A recent summary of some of the problems concerning the Altaic theory and also Japanese with further references is to be found in a lively and stimulating presentation of Georg (2003). A systematic survey of Altaic (including Korean and Japanese) may be obtained from Starostin, Dybo, Mudrak (2003), Vol. 1, Preface and Introduction (pp. 7-269).
3. The necessity of dealing primarily with the heuristic aspect without going deeper into the questions of interpretation is an objective requirement of the work, respecting the fact that we are only in the beginning of the process. That is also the reason why there are no reconstructions in my previous papers. Disregarding the fact that I consider reconstructions to have no more than just a symbolical or pedagogical value (cf. also Vacek 1987a, 10; 2002a, 158), the reason is quite obvious. With the prospect of new parallels or newly added items enriching the old parallels, any attempt at a premature interpretation of the material would be doomed to failure (and, for me, reconstruction is one aspect of unequivocal interpretation; this lesson can be learned from the early history of IE linguistics, the early reconstructions made by A. Schleicher, etc.). This is why I try first to sum up the material, understand it thoroughly, classify it or possibly sum up some of the phonetic correspondences with due respect for the fact that such lists are merely a part of the heuristic phase of the work. But, of course, it may be argued that the very arrangement of the lexical material in the models is in fact some sort of interpretation. For me, however, the patterns designed within the models are not a straightforward interpretation; they are only a systematic basis for a later interpretation, which is rather flexible and allows easy amendments. But I do not refuse reconstructions as such; they can certainly help as a means of grasping the respective etymological nests just in one word. That working with a model (sometimes quite complex) is more demanding, need not be especially underlined. Concerning reconstruction, cf. also further below in connection with the idea of models, and Vacek 2002a, p. 160. Some researchers make systematic reconstructions also for Altaic, e.g. S. Starostin in his earlier work and in the new comparative dictionary (Starostin, Dybo, Mudrak 2003). But we should be clear about the 'relative validity' of reconstructions. Some problems linked with reconstructions are also demonstrated by Stefan Georg (2003, pp. 440ff.) with regard to Starostin's earlier work. The relativity of reconstructions is accepted also by Starostin, Dybo and Mudrak (2003, p. 7), when they say: "The current reconstruction will also inevitably change - as it happened with Indo-European, Uralic and most of the other established language families during the decades of their investigation."

conditioned by the subjective ability and experience in finding out and identifying the possible parallels on the basis of **formal** and **semantic** features and, of course, as such, it is a rather responsible or, if you like, risky matter.⁴ A little less subjective criterion is the extent to which the parallels appear to be **complementary** and support each other semantically (as a part of narrower or broader semantic fields, e.g. kinship terms, parts of the body, verbs, animals, plants, etc.) and especially formally (phonetic correspondences recurring with etyma belonging to various semantic fields).

Some of the lexical parallels were identified by me very early when I started to learn Mongolian in 1975 and they were not difficult to identify. Many of them later appeared to have also MT. or Turkic representation. Among the early Tamil and Mongolian identifications (with evidence from other Altaic languages now added where available) were: E.g.⁵

(1)

Ta. *kāl* leg, foot

(17 Dravidian languages from Tamil to Brahui) (DEDR 1479)⁶

Mo. *köl* leg

Cf. Alt.

**k'ojli* limb, extremity

(including further MT. *OLDÖN* side, (Starostin et alia, 2003, 831)
thigh, var. Olcha *χoldo(n)*; OT. **Kol*
arm, hand)

(2)

Ta. *ammā* mother, matron, lady; *ammai* mother, grandmother; etc.

(18 Dravidian languages from Tamil to Brahui) (DEDR 183)

4. Even establishing some of the formal correspondences may be a long and tedious process. Especially in cases of the less usual correspondences (e.g. liquid/sibilant in Dravidian; liquid/dental, labial/velar for the whole group of languages, etc.), it may take years before 'quantity turns into quality' after sufficient evidence has been accumulated. Cf. further below.

5. These etyma were quoted in my earlier papers several times. To the early Dravidian and Mongolian identifications may be added Ta. *ā-* / *āku-* (No. 9 below). For some comment on the following etyma, cf. Vacek 2002a, pp. 21-23.

6. This word was among the few early Dravidian parallels with 'Scythian' proposed by R. Caldwell. cf. Caldwell 1913(3), p. 617: Tungusian **chalgan**, **halgan**; Mo. *K'ul* (Caldwell's spelling). His Tungusian example probably corresponds to MT. *χALχAN* II boots (Ma., MTD I, 460).

Mo. *em-e* woman, wife; female; *emege* grandmother; *emegtei* woman, female

MT. *UMIGDE* female of animals, etc.

(Evenk., Even., Neg., Ma.)

(MTD II, 268)

Chuv. *AMA* I mother, female (of animals), queen bee

(Egorov s.v.)⁷

Cf. Alt.

**ěěme* woman, female

(including additionally MT. *EMUGDE*
II female deer, MTD II, 451-2)

(Starostin et alia, 2003, 831)

(3)

Ta. *akkā*, *akkai*, *akkacci*, *akkaicci* etc. elder sister

(11 Dravidian languages)

(DEDR 23)

Mo. *egeci* elder sister; older (referring to the age of women)

MT. *EKIN* sister (11 MT. languages)

(MTD II, 443)

OT. *EKÄ* elder sister, auntie

(OTD s.v.)

Chuv. *AKKA*, Chuv. *AKI* elder sister, auntie

(plus further Turkic languages)

(Egorov s.v.)

Cf. Alt.

**ek'aà* elder sister

(including additionally MT. *XEXE*
female, MTD I, 480)

(Starostin et alia, 2003, 499-500)

(4)

Ta. *kila-* to say, *kilavu* word, speech, language

Go. *kel-* to tell

Ka. *keḷar* to cry out, roar; etc.

(6 Dravidian languages from Tamil to Kuwi)

(DEDR 2017b)

7. More to be found in Vacek, Lubsangdorji 1994 (pp. 404-5), including the semantic variation mother/father. There is OT. *oma*: mother (hapax, considered to be a Tib. borrowing by Cl. 156). For the question of **Lallwort-creation** cf. Vacek 2002a, p. 21. Note 5.

Ko. *kilc-* to utter shrill cry of joy

Ka. *kele* to cry or shout with energy

Kor. *kelappu* to cry

(10 Dravidian languages)

(DEDR 1574a)⁸

Mo. *kele-* to utter words, speak, say, tell

MT. *KILAN-* to shout

(Evenk. < Yak.)

Even. *kilɲnija* sonorous (voice)

(MTD I, 392)

OT. *KELÄCÜ* word

(OTD s.v.)

kel:çü: talk, conversation

(< Mo. according to Cl., 716)

Yakut *kylan-* to shout sharply, to yell

(MTD I, 392)

Cf. Alt.

**k'jāla* tongue

(including additionally MT. *INNI*
tongue, var. Orok. *sinu*; Ma. *ilengu*,
MTD I, 316-7)

(Starostin et alia, 2003, 796)⁹

(5)

Ta. *cey* to do, make, create, cause; deed, act, action

Ka. *key*, *kai*, *gey* to perform, do, make, work; be serviceable, fit

Konda, Mand. *ki-* to do, make

8. Overlapping with 'sound, noise'. With such semantic extension, the etymon could be linked with e.g. DEDR 1575, DEDR 1960, with possible further Altaic references:

MT. **GELTE-** to sound (Evenk.) (MTD I, 179)

GIRGIVČA- to ring, sound, tinkle (Evenk.) (MTD I, 155)

The words meaning 'rage, be angry' (s.v. Ta. **cilai**, DEDR 1574) may be linked with DEDR 1597 (Ta. **cirukku** to be angry), possibly also DEDR 1961 (Ta. **ceru** battle, fight, love-quarrel; Ka. **keraɭ** to become angry) and DEDR 1511 (Ta. **ceyir** to be angry; Ka. **kisur** to be intolerable or very disagreeable; Te. **kiduku** to fret, be cross on waking; etc.).

Cf. Mo. **kiling** 1. temper, wrath, rage, anger

kereldü- to quarrel, wrangle, dispute, have a fight

MT. **KIRU-KIRU BI** angry (Olcha, Orok., Nan.) (MTD I, 399)

KERČEME angry (Evenk.) (MTD I, 454)

OT. **kūs-** to be angry, offended; to sulk (Cl. 148)

9. I appreciate Starostin's idea that some of the Turkic words regarded as Arabisms could in fact be of Turkic origin and would represent 'a secondary merger with the Arabic loan' (ibid.). For this idea in a different context, cf. also Vacek 1995.

Kuwi *ki-*, *kīnai*, *kepali*, *kēpinai*, *kēp-* to do, make

Br. *kanning* (*kar-*, *ka-*, *kē-*) to do, make, feign oneself, be able (all stems but *kē-*, and the appearance of *k-* instead of *x-* in all stems, are due to borrowing and contamination from Bal. *kan-* and Si. Jātkī *kar-*)

(16 Dravidian languages from Tamil to Brahui) (DEDR 1957)

Mo. *ki-* to do, act, perform; a 'quasi-verbalizer' added to nouns or adverbs; Khalkha *xij-* id.

MT. *KE-* to intend to do something; to do (Evenk.) (MTD I, 442)

Cf. Alt.

**ki-* to do, to make

(including additionally OT. *kil-* to do, to make, Cl. 616; but not the MT. word) (Starostin et alia, 2003, 499-500)

Though some aspects of **interpretation** of the obtained data are perhaps based on less subjective premises (especially the combination of recurring formal and semantic features), they cannot be said to be completely free of a certain amount of subjective bias, given the somewhat problematic aspect of the heuristic basis. This concerns especially the acceptance of some of the more 'vague' (or should we only say 'less usual'?; cf. Note 4 above) phonetic correspondences, where occasionally many of the variations or irregular correspondences are found, such as e.g. dental stops vs. retroflex stops, dental stops vs. liquids, sibilants vs. liquids (cf. N. Poppe 1960, p. 70ff.; Vacek 2002a, 28ff., 277ff.), including retroflex sibilants and liquids, etc. The greater is the need for corroborative evidence from a sufficient number of possible parallel lexemes supporting such correspondences. But the lexical aspect often remains no less slippery than the phonetic correspondences (in this respect No. 23 *kōli* below may be an interesting example of an almost 'absolute' match, both semantically and formally, including the variation of sibilants and liquids). The need for a systematic treatment of the material for internal corroboration of the phonetic correspondences is also pressing in the light of the fact (which took me some time to realise) that the etyma in the DEDR itself are not always fully satisfactorily arranged (though this fact in no way disqualifies the dictionary as an excellent tool), and that they need much rethinking and have to be

rearranged, cross-referenced or newly grouped and completed (by material from Old Tamil, as well as other Dravidian languages).¹⁰

However, interpretation as such may also be carried out on two levels. Besides a purely linguistic evaluation of the data from the point of view of the system and acceptance or refusal of their validity on that basis, there is one more level of interpretation. It involves questions arising in connection with the **presumed external history** of the phenomenon of this linguistic similarity and a conclusion or verdict on the type of relationship between the investigated languages. This primarily concerns the problem whether it is plausible to think about the relationship in terms of a language family or to explain the parallels and similarities in terms of an ancient language contact (and consequently a linguistic area). In my earlier papers on the subject, I argued for the latter possibility particularly because of the widespread variation of the attested forms and because of the number of inconsistencies in the available data. However, a definite conclusion cannot be reached without a proper interpretation of the purely linguistic data. The number of obvious parallels and the fact that in spite of the great variability they appear to form a relatively consistent and clearly articulated system (no matter how partial it is), seem to indicate that the obtained data are far beyond the threshold of statistical coincidence.¹¹

In the following, I will concentrate especially on problems of **lexical parallels** and **phonetic correspondences**, and only on a few aspects of morphology, which take shape in the material. At this stage, it is clear that the principal subject of investigation is the lexical parallels (including phonetic correspondences based on them). The **morphological correspondences** on the other hand are not so well articulated; they mainly concern the more archaic layers of derivation and will have to be investigated more systematically at a later time. Though morphological correspondences are rather

10. I have been engaged in doing so with regard to select DEDR etyma especially in the last few years, cf. e.g. TEN 1 (1998) and TEN 2 (2000), and Vacek 2001a, b, 2002a and other papers.

11. The question of a statistical evaluation of this type of linguistic data will certainly be a matter of further discussions. However, I do not see how G. Doerfer (ZDMG 124, 1974, p. 134) arrived at his conclusion that some fifty lexical items (or even more) shared by any two languages are to be taken as due to coincidence. It is not only a matter of the statistical occurrence of individual CVC roots, but also a matter of their semantic structuring and of their position in the system of the respective languages - basic vocabulary, marginal lexemes, etc. All this should be taken into consideration in any statistical evaluation of the probability that the respective parallels are a product of coincidence.

meagre, they are not negligible (cf. Vacek 1978, 142-149). The morphological correspondences, if properly substantiated, may become an important argument when we ultimately are confronted by the task of determining the 'degree of relationship' between the languages concerned (if indeed we reach that point).

1. Lexical parallels and their semantic features

The lexical parallels, which have been established by me so far, include the basic lexical classes (nouns, verbs, particles, except numerals and pronouns¹²) and cover several important semantic fields. If seen from the perspective of the lexical classes, the existence of a rather great number of verbal stems and roots may be taken to be particularly relevant. It seems that verbs, rather than nouns, are an important part of any language system. It is especially the (C)VC- verbal roots that are taken into account in the lexical parallels, but in some cases the similarity goes beyond this root element (cf. the brief discussion of 'secondary stems' below in part 3 on morphological correspondences).

Semantically both verbs and nouns include lexical items, which are to be taken as basic activities or objects/phenomena, as well as more specialized verbs and nouns. They represent what could be called the basic vocabulary but also include some items which go beyond that. As for nouns, some lexical groups are represented to a certain extent (kinship terms, parts of the body, more recently also animals; cf. the list of references below).

A great number of the parallels display practically a direct semantic identity (e.g. nos. 1-5, 7, 9, 10, 11, etc.). In some cases, we have to set a broader semantic range to accommodate the parallels (e.g. nos. 6, 12, 13, etc.), which, however, are within the limits of acceptable semantic variation. To me, the latter ones do not seem to make the etyma less acceptable, if we think of them in the light of the general context. But we also encounter cases of rather wide semantic ranges - the meanings may sometimes be 'shifted', or they may be 'combined' in special associative 'semantic clusters'. E.g. water - cool; rise - jump - great - elevation - hill (e.g. nos. 12,

12. I am not sure that the similarity seen by V.M. Illič-Svityč (*Opyt sravnenija nostratičeskikh jazykov*, Moskva 1971, p. 6ff.) between the Mongolian first person singular indirect case form **na-**, Dative **na-d**, Acc. **na-maig** etc. and the Dravidian first person singular, Ta. **nān** etc., is significant in the context of the Dravidian and Altaic comparison. This would be an isolated exception in the system of personal pronouns. For both numerals and pronouns, cf. Vacek 2002a, p. 19.

25); hot/warm - ripe;¹³ etc. represent peculiar bundles of semantic features, which are linked with lexemes of the same basic phonetic form and which may occasionally be found throughout the whole linguistic spectrum - both Dravidian and Altaic (cf. Vacek 2002a for water - viscosity - cool, etc.).

In the lexicon, there seems to exist something like an archaic or rudimentary group of lexemes, which appears to consist of complex etymological nests, each forming a special **continuum** both formally and semantically. Such continuum does not yield to an atomistic approach to

13. As for the last semantic cluster (hot/warm - ripe), it belongs among the shared typological characteristics to be found both in Dravidian and Altaic. Sometimes the Dravidian homophones are split in the DEDR, e.g.

DEDR 1406: Ta. **kāni** to be red-hot, glow, get angry

DEDR 1408: Ta. **kāni** to ripen, be overripe, melt, grow tender; ripe fruit, etc.

DEDR 1458: Ta. **kāy** to grow hot, burn, be warm (as body), etc.

DEDR 1459: Ta. **kāy** to bear fruit; unripe fruit; Ma. **kāykka** to bear fruit, ripen.

DEDR 4788: Pe. **māk-** to bake (bread); Kuwi **id.** to roast in fire, etc.

DEDR 4789: Ka. **māgu** to ripen fully as fruit, etc.

Sometimes they are not found in the DEDR, e.g.

Ta. **cilu-** 1. to be properly boiled, as rice; to be spoiled, overboil (rice); to ripen, as fruits (TL s.v.).

In Altaic, the feature may also be shared by some etyma (some possibly related to Dravidian):

MT. **IR-** I to ripen; to boil, to fry (8 MT. languages, MTD I, 323)

MT. **ILKU-** to ripen; **ilkumki-** to sting, burn (nettle) (Evenk., MTD I, 309)

MT. **ILA-** I to ignite, set fire to; to burn; to get warm (oven) (MTD I, 303-4)

MT. **ILA-** II to blossom (MTD I, 304) ('blossoming' to be taken as the first stage of 'ripening'?)

cf. also MT. **SILA-** to grill, roast (10 MT. languages) (MTD II, 82)

ČERE- to be roasted (Evenk.; MTD II, 422)

Mo. **sira-** to roast, broil, fry; to scorch, burn (the sun)

Similarly:

OT. **biš-** to come to maturity, ripen, with some extended meanings (to cook, to be cooked) (Cl. 376-7)

Chuv. **PIŠ-** 1. to mature, ripen; to be cooked, baked (Egorov 162)

PEŠER- 1. to bake, cook; 2. to burn (nettle); 3. to brew, steam (Egorov 257-8)

This semantic extension is obviously also shared by Sanskrit **pac-** to cook, bake, roast, boil; to ripen, mature, become ripe (cf. Vacek 1995, p. 24). According to Mayrhofer (KEWA, EWA), the meaning 'ripe, ripen' is attested in Toch. AB, Iranian languages and Greek (s.v. **pácati**, **PAC**), and in Iranian languages (s.v. **pakvāh**, **pakvā-**).

Note that a similar semantic extension can be found in Fino-Ugrian (Rédei II, p. 665: FP **kipše** reif; reif werden, reifen; some lexemes also mean: get cooked through, roasted through and the like).

both the phonetic shape and to the semantics of the parallels. It is not easy to define the part of lexicon, which displays this quality, but we can say that it roughly corresponds to what is called the basic vocabulary. The first indications of this quality were noted in my earlier papers (Vacek 1996b, 1998, 2000), where I proposed certain smaller 'clusters' of lexemes belonging together and having a phonetic variation resembling a continuum. This then was more specifically shown in 'hot', 'fire,' etc. (Vacek 2001a, b) and particularly in the monograph on 'water' (Vacek 2002a). The latter monograph sums up rather extensive material, which represents a special type of phonetic and semantic continuum, whose formal properties (including a certain degree of fuzziness) seem to be found with several other lexemes. Here I started to use the concept of a **model within a continuum of forms and meanings**, which is a possible way of grasping such 'fuzzy' etymological nests. The consequences of this finding will have to be evaluated with more reflection and 'from a distance'. But such type of parallels appears to be more significant for the understanding of the ancient linguistic processes than the 'atomistic' statements of individual phonetic correspondences (which it also includes). In fact, this concept does not expect **reconstructions** to play any major role in the description of the models, which goes against the Young Grammarians' atomistic concept of sound-to-sound correspondences and, in that sense, it represents an approach close to the 'postmodernist' type of paradigm; only I try to apply it quite rigorously.¹⁴ Linguists, however, might feel more at home with the mathematical idea of 'fuzzy sets' or with the Heisenberg 'uncertainty principle' of nuclear physics.

A special feature seems to be a number of **homophones** or quasi-homophones on the level of the CVC- roots in one or more languages. They evidently represent different etyma as may also be concluded from the parallels in the other languages, which are not necessarily homophonous (e.g. nos. 18, 19, 20 below).

Now, let us mention some of the examples, which provide a practical documentation of the various types of parallels, the simple ones as well as the more complex ones (some paragraphs being subdivided to demonstrate the close parallels between e.g. the labial and velar in the root, etc.):

(6)

Ta. *amai-* to abide, remain, become still, quiet, subside, be satisfied, acquiesced, be settled, fixed up

14. In my work on 'water', I used the phrase "a postmodernist 'continuum of potentialities'" (2002a, p. 160).

amar- to abide, remain, become tranquil, rest, be deposited (as a sediment)

amaiti calmness, humility

Ma. *amanuka* to subside, settle, be seated, rest on, be allayed, calmed, quiet

amekka to subject, join, rule

Tu. *amaruni* to become quiet, calm; settle (DEDR 161)

Mo. *amu-* to rest, relax, feel contentment, be relieved

amara-, *amura-* to rest, relax

MT. Evenk. *āme-* to want to sleep

Even. *amol-* to start to feel like sleeping (MTD I, 1)¹⁵

OT. *AMRĪL-*, *AMRUL-* (*amril-/amrul-*), pass. of **amur-*, to be at peace and quiet

AMURT- (*amurt-*), caus. of **amur-*, to quieten, calm (someone or something) (OTD s.v.; Cl. 163)

amul quiet, mild, equable, peaceable, even-tempered

(Cl. 160-1 considers the word to have been borrowed by Mongolian from an alternative form **amur*)

Cf. Alt.

**àamV* to be quiet; sleep (Starostin et alia 2003, p. 298-9)

(7a)

Ta. *an̄kā-* to open the mouth

Ko. *aŋga:v-* to look upwards

Ka. *angāta* having the face turned upwards

Tu. *aŋgāvuni* to yawn, gape, open the mouth

Kol. *aŋgasi* to yawn; Nk. *aŋgāši* id.

15. These MT. examples are listed as a part of the root *Ā-* to sleep; there is an internal variation of the intervocalic consonant (*m*, *n*, *ŋ*, *š*) (MTD I, 1-2). Besides that, there are forms, which are obviously borrowings from Mongolian (considered as such by the authors of MTD):

Evenk. *āmura-* to rest.

Even. *am r-* to rest, etc.

But note that Mo. *amara-* is often used in connection with 'going to bed', not just 'having a rest'. So, this may show the type of 'formal and semantic continuum' represented in this etymon.

Pa. *aŋalp-* to gape, open the mouth wide

Go. *aŋii-* / *aŋl-* to open mouth

Mand. *aŋlā-* to open mouth

Kui *angalanga* with mouth agape

angali āva/giva to open the mouth wide, gape

Kuwi *angalacali* to gape; *aŋala'-* to gape, open

Kur. *aŋgal aŋgal* with one's mouth open (in surprise)

Malt. *angle* to gape; *anglo* open-mouthed (DEDR 34)

Ka. *ākaḷisu*, *ākuḷisu*, *āguḷisu* yawning, gaping (s.v. DEDR 392 in 7b)

Kui *ēga-* to be open, ajar, unclosed, gaping

Kuwi *ēg-* to be open;

ēk- to open (mouth, book) (DEDR 874)

cf. Ko. *a:n-* to open (mouth) wide, (mouth) is open wide

Tu. *agelu* to go apart, widen (DEDR 8e, s.v. Ta. *akal* to spread, widen, extend, depart, go away)

Mo. *angyai-* to open up; to be wide open

(Khalkha usage: to open the mouth)

ongyui- to become wide open; open up, form an opening or a gap; to gape

ang 2. crack, chink, cleft, fissure, crevice; ravine

angyar crevice, cranny, fissure, cleft

angta- to split, crack, cleave

MT. *A* *A* I mouth (animal) (MTD I, 45)

Evenk. *āŋā-* to open the mouth (animal)

Even. *āŋa-* to open

Neg. *aŋa-* to open (the mouth, about an animal)

(etc. Sol., Ud., Olcha, Orok, Nan.)

U *I* opening (MTD II, 278)

Evenk. *uŋi* opening (hole in the axe for the helve)

Ma. *uŋgin* id.

OT. *agiz* the mouth (Cl. 98)

?*eŋek* lower jaw, jawbone, chin (Cl. 183)

?*eŋ* 2 cheek (Cl. 166)

Yak. *aṇa* open

aṇaj, *äṇäj*, *oṇoj* to become open

(Räs. 21a)

Cf. Alt.

**ágà* mouth, to open mouth

(including additionally Mo. *ayui* cave, but not the forms with the velar nasal/stop) (Starostin et alia 2003, p. 274)

**ák'à* to open, opening

(only Japanese and Korean)

(Starostin et alia 2003, p. 280)

**àṇa* hole, crack, gape

(Starostin et alia 2003, p. 304)

(7b)

Ta. *āvi* to gape, yawn, open the mouth so as to express loudly; yawn

Ma. *āvi it-* to yawn

Ko. *a:vaj* a yawn

To. *o:puḷy-* to yawn

[Ka. *ākaḷisu*, *ākuḷisu*, *āguḷisu* yawning, gaping - the form belongs to 7a]

Kod. *a:valic-* to yawn

Tu. *āvaḷuu* a yawn

Kor. *āvaḷsu* to yawn

Pa. *ām-*, *āv-* to yawn

Ga. *ām-*, *āmk-* to yawn

Go. *āvi* a yawn

Kur. *aula'ānā* to yawn

Malt. *áwole* to yawn

Br. *āvāning* to yawn

(DEDR 392)

OTa. *avil-*¹ 2. to open, expand

(TL s.v.)¹⁶

Mo. *ebsije-* to yawn

ebsijel a yawn, yawning

ama(n) mouth

16. Cf. e.g. Aka. 269, 23: *vāy avilnta*; Kācivicuvanātan Cettiyār's commentary: *vāy tiranta* 'mouth opening'.

MT. *AVŽAN*- to open (the mouth)

(MTD I, 9)

Neg. *avžan*- to open the mouth

AMŇA mouth

(MTD I, 38-9)

(Evenk., Sol., Even., Neg., Oroch., Ud., Olcha, Orok., Nan., Ma.)

EBŠŦ- to yawn (Sol. < Mongolian)

(MTD II, 433)

Cf. Alt.

**ǎbu* interior of the mouth

(including Neg. *avžan*-, but not including Mo. *ebsije*-)

(Starostin et alia
2003, p. 271)

**ǎǎmo* mouth; taste (including Mo. *ama(n)*, M. *AMŇA*)

(Starostin et alia
2003, p. 296)

(8)

Ta. *acai*- to be weary, exhausted, grow feeble

acar- become faint, drowsy, etc.

acāvu- to droop, languish, grow slack

Ma. *ašati* drowsiness, forgetfulness

Ka. *asur* to feel disgusted, have an aversion; fatigue, faintness

āsar to be weary; weariness, fatigue, languor

Tu. *ajakè* idleness

Te. *asurusuru* an onom. word to express weariness

(DEDR 39)

Mo. *ece*- b. to become exhausted or tired (a. to become lean, thin)

ecege- (caus.) to exhaust, overwork, wear out, cause to become feeble

ecegerke- to become exhausted, [thin, etc.]

ecel fatigue, weariness, exhaustion

MT. *AŽA*- to annoy; be tired (from the journey)

(MTD I, 16)

Evenk. *aža*- to annoy; be weary, tired (from the journey)

Neg. *ažā*-, *ažaya*-, *ažaja*- to be idle, lazy

Oroč. *ažakta* lazy person

ažā-si- to be idle, lazy

Olcha *ažakta* lazy person; lazy

Nan. *ažāpsi* (I am) annoyed, (I) do not want (to do)

hEČE- to get tired (Evenk., Even.)

(MTD II, 372-3)

Cf. Alt.

**p'éeč*'*V* to be tired, defeated (not including MT. *AZA*-) (Starostin et alia 2003, p. 1129-30)

(9)

Ta. *ā-/āku*- to be, become, come into existence; to happen, be, be fit, agreeable, like, equal, etc.

*ākk**u*- to effect, make, cause to be, create, arrange; creation

ām (< *ākum*) yes, so, expressing assent, recollection

Ko. *a:g*- to become

a:k- to make to become, prepare

To. *o:x*- to become, be agreeable, be of use, menstruate

o:k- to place

Ka. *āgu*-, *agu*- to come into existence, happen, become, (prove to) be

Kod. *a:g*- to become; *a:ku* yes, all right

a:k- to make to stay in a place

Tu. *āpini* to be, become, grow, happen, occur, fit, suit, be possible, be related to

āvu it may be or may happen; yes

Te. *agu*, *avu* to be, become, prove to be, be done, be fit, be agreeable

avunu yes

Kui *āva* to become, be, happen, be sufficient, finished; being, becoming, accomplishment, sufficiency

(16 Dravidian languages in total from Tamil to Brahui) (DEDR 333)

Mo. *a*- (defective auxiliary and copula) to be

ayu- 1.b to complete, finish (obs.)¹⁷

17. Mo. *ayu*- was not included in my paper on the verbs of existence (Vacek 1992c, p. 225), but it may be in correlation with the Dravidian as well as with the following MT. examples. These Altaic forms, which obviously correlate with the Ta. causative form *ākk**u*-, may reveal a development of specialised meanings in each of the branches. The archaic root with its variation and original meaning may be seen in Manchu. Similarly, there is a labial in the extended root to be observed throughout all the attested language branches. The meaning specified for the etymon as a whole by the authors of the MTD is obviously the shifted meaning of the etymon.

abacu (concessive converb of *a-*) though, although (it is)

abasu (conditional converb of *a-*) if, in case (it is)

axui (future noun of *a-*) being, existence; presence

MT. *Ō-* to make

(MTD II 3-4)

Evenk. *ō-* to make; to become, happen

ōv- to be done, accomplished

Sol. *ō-* to make; to become

ōxān- to order to do, to place an order

Neg. *ō-* to make, produce; perform; to become, come into existence, appear

ōv- to be done, accomplished; to be built, produced

Oroch. *ō-* to make

ōkun-a- to make to do, to make to perform

Ma. *o-* [oɣo], *oo-* to become, to happen; to be; to be able

oɣonɣe the one which happened, which was

oɣoo is that so? was that so?

obu- to order to be, to happen; to produce, work; to function, act

(etc. Even., Ud., Olcha, Orok., Nan.)

Cf. Alt.

**òòlu-* to be, become; to come

(including MT. *Ō-*, Mo. *ol-* to find, obtain; PTurk. **ol-ur-* to sit; but not Mo. *a-*)

(Starostin et alia 2003, p. 1050)

(10)

Ma. *ēku-ka* to give, bestow

[Br. *ēt-* allomorph in pres. indefinite, imper., and optionally probable future, of *ting* to give] (DEDR 872)

to be compared with

Ta. *iku-* to give

Ka. *ikku-* to give

iŋgu- to give (DEDR 416: cf. Ta. *ī-* DEDR 2598; loss of initial **c-*)

Mo. *ög-* to give, give away

önggürzi- for a stingy person to become generous

OT. *AQİ* generous, liberal

(OTD p. 48)

AQİLİQ generosity, munificence

(OTD p. 48)

AXi generous, liberal

(OTD p. 71)

AXiLiQ generosity, munificence

(OTD p. 71)

aki: generous, open-handed

(Cl. 78)

Cf. Yak. *ögö*, *öñö* voluntary gift (? < Mo.)

(Räs. 369a)

Cf. Alt.

**óók'è* to put, heap; to give (including Mo. *ög-*; PTurk. **öök-* to heap up; many; PTung. **oK-* to heap up; to economise) (Starostin et alia 2003, p. 1047-8)

(11)

Kur. *ēxnā* to loose heat, cool down

ēxnā (heat of the day) abates

Malt. *ége* to become cool, be healed

égtre to make cool

(DEDR 875)

Mo. *akira-* 2. to freeze through to the bottom (of water)

agi- 2. to freeze

agira- 2. to freeze

MT. *İŶIN* coldness (Evenk., Neg., Oroc., Ud.; initial *s-* in: Olcha, Orok., Nan., Ma.) (MTD I, 321)

Cf. Alt.

**k'iójño* cold

(including the MT. form (Starostin et alia 2003, p. 803) reconstructed with **x-* and thus it is included in another set of lexemes, e.g. Mo. *küiten* cold; etc.)

(12)¹⁸Ta. *ehku*- to climb, mount, get up*ekku* to rise, go up, etc.Ma., Ka., Te. *ekku*- to come up, ascend, mount, get uponKa. *ekkala* high, tall, huge like a demonTe. *ekkincu* to cause to ascendGo. *ek*- to climb, (sun) risesKui *ekasi*, *engasi* rising, ascending, uphillKui *engali*, *enginai* to climb*ekh'nai* to heighten, promote, overburden[*epki ki*- to cause to climb]

(DEDR 766)

Ta. *ika* to leap over, cross over, transgress, overflowMa. *ekarttuka*, *ekattuka* to lift, raise*ekaram* height, uphillKa. *egaru* to rise, fly, jump*egarisu* to cause to rise, cause to fly, cause to jump, shoplift*egarike* jumping*egu* rising, embarkationTe. *egayu*, [*negayu*, *nevayu*] to fly, go up, rise up, jump*eguru*, [*evuru*] to fly, jump up; flying, flight, jump*eguva* the top*eguvu* flying, flight of bird*egupu* flight, increase*egu*, *egudu* high, raised*egayincu* to toss up*egacu* to cause to fly*egirincu* to toss up, cause to fly*ega* upwards*egumati* embarkation, putting goods on board of a ship, exportation*egudala* the upper or higher part or region (as of a river); increase, rise

18. For a more detailed analysis of this etymon including particularly the medial labial (anticipating a full model), cf. Vacek 1996b, pp. 297-308. On p. 296, the paper also discusses the question of the semantic extensions encountered here. Cf. also Vacek 1998, pp. 140-141, including the possible etymology of Skt. *ága*- mountain.

Nk. *egur-* to jump

Go. *egr-* to dance; *egemur* a dance

Konda *egri-* to fly (as a bird) (DEDR 3730d, s.v. Ta. *niva-*, cf. Note 42 below)

Ta. *ōñku-* to grow, rise high (as a tree), ascend (as a flame), be lofty, be exalted; lift up, raise (arm, weapon), etc.

ōñkal height, rising, mount, mound

ōkku- to raise, lift up, cause to rise

ōkkam height, increase, bigness

Ma. *ōñnuka* to lift up (as hand), prepare to strike, aim at

Ko. *o:k-* to raise (hand to strike, corpse on to fire)

To. *wi:k-* to aim

Ka. *ōga* pride (DEDR 1033a)

Ta. *akai*⁻² 2. to rise

6. to raise

akaippu rising, elevation (TL, to be separated from DEDR 15)

Ta. *akal*⁻¹ 3. to pass beyond, cross, leap over

4. increase, develop, grow, progress (TL, not in DEDR)

Ta. *akalam* greatness

akali to broaden out, enlarge

akalul width, expanse, greatness

Ka. *agundale* extensiveness, greatness

agunti greatness

Malt. *agare* to increase (DEDR 8c)

Mo. *ögsü-* to ascend, go upstream

ögede upwards, uphill, upstream

öngei-, *önggei-* to overhang, jut or project over; to peek at

öngeim-e, *önggeim-e* towering, lofty, steep

oysui- 1. to be haughty

oki n. top; adj. superior, first

okila- to be on top; to lead

aysa- to raise, put up

ayui 2., *ayuu* vast, huge; very much, extremely

ayula(n) mountain

ayudam wide, vast, spacious, extended; a vast space

MT. *IKURULA-* to rise, to get up (Ma.) (MTD I, 301)

IKĒN III mountain pass (Evenk.) (MTD I, 302)

hEGDI great, bit (MTD II, 359-60)

(Evenk., Sol., Even., Neg., Oroch., Ud., Olcha, Orok., Nan.)

OTATA summit (of a hill) (Evenk.) (MTD II, 5)

UTI II up; height (MTD II, 245-6)

(Evenk., Sol., Even., Neg., Oroch., Ud., Olcha, Orok., Nan.)

Turkic

Uig., Chag. *ay* aufsteigen, sich erheben

Kom., Osm. *ay-yn* klettern (Räs. 7b)

a:ğ- to rise (var. *ağ-*) (Cl. 77)

?OT. *ükli:-* to become larger, more plentiful; to increase (Cl. 107)

Cf. Alt.

**ééga* to rise, lift (including MT. *EKSE-* to carry, MTD II, 443-4; and the above Mo. and Tur. forms in *a-*) (Starostin et alia 2003, p. 494)

**óóni* height (Mo. *öndür* high; PTurk. **öön-* to grow, rise; mentioning also Mo. *öngei-*) (Starostin et alia 2003, p. 1053)

**iúgu* up, above

(including Mo. *ögede*, *ögse-*) (Starostin et alia 2003, p. 614)

**éégó* big, many (including Mo. *ayuu*, *ayui*; MT. *hEGDI*) (Starostin et alia 2003, p. 495-6)

(13)

Ta. *kati-* to become large, grow big, abound, be superior

katippu thickness; *katimai* largeness, greatness

Tu. *kadiya* strongly, well (DEDR 1191)

Ta. *katir* to abound, increase

Te. *kaduru* to be produced, increase (s.v. DEDR 1193, to shine, glow)

Mo. *xada*- 2. to rise, go up

ketü 1. beyond, in excess, over; ultra

ketür(e)- to exceed (as the measure), surpass, go beyond, transgress

kedüid- to rise; to extend, continue; to surpass

MT. *KADARA* great (Orok.) (MTD I, 360)

?*ΓADAR*-*ΓADAR* erectly, uprightly (Olcha, Nan.) (MTD I, 135)

XETE- I to hoist, lift, raise (Olcha, Nan., Ma.) (MTD I, 483)

KETE much, many (MTD I, 455)

(Evenk., Oroch., Ud., Olcha, Orok., Nan.)

KETER great, many (MTD I, 456)

(Evenk., Even., Oroch., Nan.)

OT. *kötür*- to lift up, raise (Cl. 706)

?*kötki*: hillock (perh. a l.w., no obvious Turkish etym.) (Cl. 702)

kutur- 2 to be excessive, exceed (Cl. 605)

?*ked* very, extremely (< Sogdian) (Cl. 700)

Cf. Alt.

**két'ò* much, many, excessively (including only Mo. *ketü*; MT. *KETE*, *KETER*) (Starostin et alia 2003, p. 674-5)

(14)

Ka. *karāngu* to be emaciated

Tu. *karaguni* to become lean or thin, waste (DEDR 1388)

to be compared with a portion of DEDR 1292 (to dissolve):

Ta. *karai*- wear away, become emaciated

Tu. *karaguni* to become thin

Mo. *xatangir* lean, meagre, emaciated, exhausted, spent; lanky; weak; atrophied

γarzai- a. to be(come) thin; be exhausted

γorzui- b. to be thin or emaciated

MT. *GETE* emaciated, meagre, lean (Evenk. < Yak.) (MTD I, 183)

Yak. *kötōx* emaciated, meagre, lean (MTD I, 183)

(15)

Ta. *kili* fear, fright

Ma. *killu* doubt

Ko. *gily* extreme fear

Ka. *gili* fear

Tu. *gilku*, *gilki* fear, trembling

Te. *gili* fear, terror (DEDR 1572)

Ta. *keli*¹ 2. to be struck with terror; to start with fear (TL s.v.)

Ta. *kolai* bashfulness, timidity; bashful person

Ma. *kōla* bashfulness

Ka. *kōdu* to shrink, fear; shrinking, fear; a wonderful thing, wonder

Te. *kōd-ādu* to be amazed or confounded (DEDR 2250)

Mo. *gelme-* to become frightened or terrified

girbi- to be bashful, shy, modest, cowardly; to be afraid

kilamki- b. to lose one's head, take fright; to be worried;

[a. to look about, look behind one, turn one's head to look at something]

xoryulza- to be afraid; shirk, avoid, hold back

xariy timid, bashful

xal(a)sira- to be afraid of; to be reluctant or reserved

xaluri- b. to lose interest or enthusiasm; to lose courage; to become lazy; [a. to step back, retire, retreat; to flee]

xalus- b. to become timid, lose courage; [a. to evade, avoid]

MT. *GIRBE-* to be embarrassed; to feel shy, ashamed

(Even., Ma., Jur.) (MTD I, 155)

XIR SEME sadly, sorrowfully, plaintively (Ma.) (MTD I, 466)

KARA- to be ashamed (Evenk.) (MTD I, 380)

?ŋĒLE fear (MTD I, 667-9)

(Evenk., Sol., Even., Neg., Oroch, Ud., Olcha, Orok., Nan., Ma.)

(OT. *XORX*- (*kork*-) to fear, be afraid of (s.o. or s.th.) (ODD s.v.; Cl. 651)

Cf. Alt.

**gǎǎli* to hate, wild (takes Mo. *gelme*- 'to be scared, afraid' as a probable variant reflex of the same root unrelated with **ηèèlu*, q.v. below) (Starostin et alia 2003, p. 528)

**ηèèlu* fright, be afraid (includes MT. ?ŋĒLE; OT. *yala*: suspicion; blame; false accusation [Cl. 918]; refuses Mo. *gelme*- 'to be scared, afraid') (Starostin et alia 2003, p. 1026)

(16a)¹⁹

Ma. *kālu-ka* to burn, flame;

kālal high flame; love-fever;

Te. *kālu*- to burn, be burnt, scalded, scorched;

kālcu- to burn (tr.), set fire to, scald, singe, etc.

Pa. *kāl*- to smart

(DEDR 1500)

Mo. *xala*- 2. to be[come] or feel warm or hot (not used of weather); to be[come] warmed up or heated up (as through intoxication, etc.)

xalaya- to warm; to heat; to burn, scald

xalayun hot (also taste); warm; intimate; heat, warmth, fever

yal fire, conflagration

yalla- to kindle, burn; to heat; to open fire, shoot

yalda- to burn; to set fire to, kindle; to cremate

MT. *KALAN* kettle (Evenk., Even., Ud., Olcha, Nan.) (MTD I, 364-5)

Turkic

Chag. etc. *kala* entzünden, anzünden etc. (Räs. 224)

19. The following etyma 16a-16d are a part of a broader model, which was discussed in Vacek 2001a (pp. 192ff.). The paper also included words for 'light', 'shine' and 'dry'. The material, however, keeps growing, e.g. DEDR 1950 was added here as a new item (16d) and similarly Evenk. *gilli* (16d). But in this paper, the material is reduced and I tried to arrange the words according to the individual vowel representations. The former paper arranged the forms in a real 'continuum'. For the alternation of dentals and cerebrals, cf. e.g. Vacek 2002a, p. 32; for liquids and stops, cf. Vacek 2002a, pp. 282ff.

(16b)

Ta. *karukku-* to darken by heat, burn, scorch, toast, fry, etc.*karuku-* to be scorched, blackened by fire or sun*kari-* to be charred, scorched [become black]Ma. *karikkal*, *karukkal* frying*karikka* to char, burn black, fire (a jungle), scorch*kariṣal* that which is singed, scorchedTo. *kary-* to be singed, scorched, fried too much*karc-* to heat (new pot, etc., to purify it)Ka. *kari* to be scorched, singed, charred, to fry, roast*karañacu* to be scorchedKod *kari-* to be singedTu. *karñka* state of being burnt or singed*karñkāduni* (tr.) to burn*karñcuni* to be burned to cinders*karvāvuni* to burn the down of a fowl by holding it over the fireTe. [*kaṅgu* to be scorched, be burnt, fade]*krāgu* to be burnedPa. *ker-*, *kerv-* to burn*kerip-*, *kervip-* id.(tr.)Ga. *karid-* to burn away as rice*karv-* to burn (intr.)*karup-* to burn (tr.)*karup din* summerGo. *karw-*, *karv-*, *kar-* *kaṛ-* to burn (intr.)*karih-* to burn (tr.)*kaṛha* field for burning cultivation*kark-* rice to burn while cooking*karr-* to be charred or burnt

Kui *krumu* scorched, tinder-like

gṛīpa to cremate the dead; cremation (s.v. Ta. *karu* black; DEDR 1278a-a)²⁰

Pe. *kara* heat of the sun

(Burrow, Bhattacharya, 1970, p. 199)

Oll. *karup* heat of the sun

(Bhattacharya 1956, p. 56)

Kuvi. *kara* heat of the sun

kara kālomi hot season

kara vēra summer

(Israel 1979, p. 345)

MT. *ḪARI-/U-* to bake (pancakes)

(MTD I, 463)

Olcha, Nan. *ḫari-* id.

Ma. *ḫara-*, *ḫari-* to bake, to fry; to dry (rusks in oven); to scorch

Turkic

trkm. [*kavyr-* to fry, grill]

kār to scorch

(Räs. 220)

(16c)

Ta. *kolli* firebrand, fire; quick-tongued person

koluttu- to kindle, set on fire, ignite; burn

koluntu- to burn, be kindled

Ma. *kolli* firebrand, firewood

koluttuka to set on fire, light, kindle

Ko. *koyl* burning firewood, faggot

To. *kwīy* firebrand, glowing ember

Ka. *kolli*, *kolle* firebrand

Tu. *kolli*, *kolli* id.

(DEDR 2158)

20. DEDR 1278a is one of those etyma, which should be split into two:

(a-a) to burn, scorch

(a-b) black, dark; to become black, etc.

Or the overlapping of the two meanings in the etymon must be due to a contamination with the Dravidian word Ta. *karu-* to grow black, etc. (DEDR 1395), found also in Altaic: Mo. *xar-a* black, *xarangγui* dark(ness), dusk; *xaraud-* to blacken, rust (of grain); MT. *KARĀ* black (MTD I, 379); OT. *QARA* I black (colour) (OTD p. 422, s.v.), *kara:* black (Cl. 643), *karaγgu:* dark, darkness (!? 'morphologically obscure', Cl. 662).

Cf. also

Te. *gōlincu-* to fry

Go. *gōlis-* id. (DEDR 2246)

Kur. *kurnā* to grow warm, become hot, be heated; cook on live embers, bake on an open fire

Malt. *kure* to burn, roast, sear

kurnare to be hot or warm

kurni warm, hot (s.v. Ta. *cutu*, DEDR 2654)

Mo. *γolumta* fireplace in a yurt, hearth in the centre of the tent; inheritance
?γorzui- a. to dry up, harden (as skin)²¹

MT. *GUL-* I to sparkle (MTD I, 169)

Evenk. *gul-* to glitter (lightning)

guldan lightning, summer-lightning

gulubun firebrand; hearth

Sol. *gulzēr* hearth etc.

(Even., Neg., Olcha, Nan., Ma.)

KURGI- to burn (MTD I, 435)

Evenk. *kurgi* flame

kurgi- to burn, to scorch (also the sun)

kurō- to blaze up, to burn strongly

(etc. Neg., Oroch., Olcha, Ma.)

KORŌVKĀN- to burn up (Evenk.) (MTD I, 416)

Olcha *xuldu* hot

Orok. *xuldu* warm (s.v. MT. *ULDI* flame; MTD II, 260)

(16d)

Pa. *kerj-* to warm oneself by the fire

kercip- to warm somebody else

Konda *rēs-* to warm by the fire (aphaeresis of *k-*)

21. That 'dry' may be an extended meaning of 'hot' can be attested in other etyma (e.g. DEDR 1458, cf. Vacek 2001a). This word was not included in Vacek 2001a. The other meaning (*γorzui-* b): to be thin or emaciated (above No. 14).

Kui *grehpa* to warm, warm by the fire, broil, foment; act of warming by the fire, fomentation

Kuwi *kērnjali* to warm oneself in the sun

krenj- to warm oneself; *kreh-* to warm another (DEDR 1967; cf. Pa. above 16a)

Ka. *kircu*, [*kiccu*] fire (s.v. DEDR 1514)

To. *kiru* a spark

Ka. *kidi*, *kedi* id.

Kod. *kēdi*, *cedi* id.

Tu. *kidi*, *kedi* id. (DEDR 1528)

To. *ködm* live coal

Ka. *keṇḍa* id.; *keṇḍavisu* to put live coals on (for blasting rocks)

Tu. *keṇḍa*, *geṇḍa* live coal (DEDR 1950)

Konḍa. *ked-* (water) to be heated, to boil

ket- to heat (water)

Pe. *ked-* to become hot; *kedi ki-* to heat (water) (DEDR 1951)

Mo. *gilai-*, *gilui-* to shine, be(come) shiny, glitter

gilbai- to glitter, glimmer; to dazzle

kölcü-, *kölci-* to warm; become warm or flushed

?*körzei-* c. to become dry, hard²²

MT. *GILBE*- I to glitter (MTD I, 149-50)

Evenk. *gilbe-* to glitter, to shine (stars)

Olcha. *giler-giler* glittering

Nan. *girmen-* to flash (lightening)

(etc. Sol., Even., Orok., Ma.)

GIL- II to boil (MTD I, 149)

Evenk. id.; *gīlut-/c-* to boil

22. This word seems to belong here though it appears to have overlapped with other lexemes in its several meanings (a - to crack; b - to become rough, unèven). This word was not included in Vacek 2001a. As for the rounded root vowel and its correspondence to the front vowels, cf. Vacek 1996b (Tables on pp. 332-333).

GILΓA- to burn up (MTD I, 150)

Ma. id., to turn into ashes

Nan. *gilekpī* flame (s.v. *GILEM-GILEM*, MTD I, 151)

Evenk. *gilli, gelli, gildi, gildeme, gilrihi* 3. glittering (s.v. *GILLI* cold MTD I, 151)

XETE- II to boil, cook (soup from vegetables, meat) (Nan., Ma.) (MTD I, 483)

OT. *kö:z* burning embers (Cl. 756)

Chuv. *xelxem* spark, flame (Egorov, p. 298)

Cf. Alt.

**giola* to burn, fire

(including MT. *GUL-* I, Mo. *yal, yolumta*) (Starostin et alia 2003, p. 554)

**keju* to boil

(mentioning Ma. *xari-* < Mo. *xajira-*) (Starostin et alia 2003, p. 657)

giũlo to smoke, fume

(including Mo. *yolumta*, MT. *GIL-* II [No. 16d below]) (Starostin et alia 2003, p. 560)

**k'ĩāla* hot ashes

(including Mo. *xala-*; MT. *ELLA* coal, MTD I, 289-90) (Starostin et alia 2003, p. 796)

**k'uli* to heat, burn

(including PTung. **xuldü-* warm, s.v. MT. *ULDI* flame; Mo. **kölci-*, PTurk. **kül* ashes) (Starostin et alia 2003, p. 849)

kũtkV flowing coals

(including OT. *köz*; and a suggestion that Mo. *xoryulzi(n)* lead, may also belong here) (Starostin et alia 2003, p. 857)

**gilè* to shine, glitter

(including Mo. *gilai-*, *gilbai-*; MT. *GILTANA-* to glitter; MTD I, 151-2) (Starostin et alia 2003, p. 544)

(17)

Ta. *kuru* short, dwarfish; become short, contract, shrink*kuruku-* to grow short, stumpy, shrink, be reduced, decrease*kurukku-* to shorten, reduce; shortness*kurai-* to diminish, be reduced, etc.*kuraiccal* deficiency, scarcity, disparagement*kuraivu* lack, deficiency, etc.*kural, kuril* shortness, dwarfishness, smallnessTo. *kurx-* to be short*kurk-* to shorten (tr.); etc.

(DEDR 1851)

Mo. *xoru-* to diminish, decrease; become depleted; wane, lessen*xoruya-* (caus.) to diminish, lessen, decrease, abridge; destroy, annihilate, etc.*xorul* decreasing, diminution, loss, harmMT. Olcha *xurmi* shortOrok. *xurdumi* shortNan. *xurmi, xurumi* id.(s.v. *URUMKUN*, MTD II, 287-8)OT. *kora:-* to suffer loss, be diminished

(Cl. 645)

< *ko:r* 1 loss, damage

(Cl. 461)

Cf. Alt.

**k'oru* short, diminish, grow less (including MT. *xurmi*, Mo. *xoru-*, OT. *kora:-*)

(Starostin et alia 2003, pp. 843-4)

(18)

Ta. *kūr-* to covet, hanker after;Ma. *kūru-ka* to love, mindKa. *kūr* to mind, be attached to, love*kūrpu, kūrme* loveTe. *kūrimi, kūrmi* friendship, love, affection*kūr(u)cu-* to be lovable, be coveted, attached

(DEDR 1897)

Mo. *xurica*- to desire with ardour, love passionately, desire with an
uncontrolled passion, lust after

Cf. Alt.

**k'jura* to covet (including Mo. *xurica*-, OT. *ki:z* costly, expensive [Cl. 680])
(Starostin et alia 2003, p. 828)

(19)

Ta. *kūr*- to be sharp (as the edge or point of an instrument), be keen (as the
intellect); sharpness, pointed edge

kūrcci, *kūrccu*, *kūrppu*, *kūrmai* sharpness, keenness

Ma., Ka. *kūr* sharpness

Kod. *ku:t*- to sharpen

Tu. *kūtuni* id.; *kurpu* sharpness as of a cutting instrument

Te. *krūru* sharp

[*kūci* sharp] (DEDR 1898)

Cf. Ka. *kōre* sharpness, pointedness (s.v. Ta. *kōrai* scratch) (DEDR 2257)

Mo. *kurca* sharp, acute; quick, prompt, agile, nimble, alert, keen; intelligent; bright

Tur., Uig. *kurč* scharf (Räs. 303a)

Cf. Alt.

**kūrV* to cut out, sharp

(including the Mo. and Tur. words) (Starostin et alia 2003, p. 747)²³

(20)

Ta. *kūr*- to be abundant, excessive; abundance

kūrppu abundance, excess

Te. *kūru* to be abundant, excessive, obtain, be filled with

Kur. *xōmā* (*xūryā*) to thrive, be prosperous, increase in honour

23. Note that Clauson has *kurç* 'tough, hard' (Cl. 647). I hesitate to include MT. *ḲORI*- to cut out (Ma.; MTD I, 415), because it may be part of another etymon. Starostin et alia 2003, p. 747 include the word here. The same overlapping takes place in DEBR 2257 above with Ka. *kōre* 'cutting' besides 'sharpness'; Ma. *kōru* cutting, tearing; Te. *kōru* to scrape with a grater; cut, scratch; etc.).

Malt. *qóre* to be enough, be much, be in excess

qórtre to supply or provide abundantly (DEDR 1899)

Mo. *kür-* b. to be sufficient

kürtei abundant, rich, sufficient

kürtenggi 1. sufficiently, plentifully, abundantly

?OT. *kürs-* to be full

(Cl. 746)

(21)

Ma. *kōruka* to eat greedily

kollu to drink

Te. *krōlu* to drink, eat

Kuwi. *gronj-* to drink, guzzle

(DEDR 2233)²⁴

Mo. *külkü-*, *kölkü-* to gulp down, swallow whole; to be gluttonous

kölbü- to swallow without chewing, gulp

MT. *KÖL-* to drink (Evenk., Even., Neg., Olcha, Orok.) (MTD I, 406)

Cf. Alt.

**k' iürge* to feed, eat

(including PTung. **xürgi-* to raise, feed, e.g. Evenk. *irgī-*, Nan. *xujgie-*, etc.;

Mo. **korgan* melted fat, oil; Bur. *xorgotoj*; PTur. **KUr(g)* food, Chuv. *xorʷś*)

(Starostin et alia 2003, p. 828)

(22a)²⁵

Ta. *kulir* to feel cool (as breeze), be cool, refreshing; coldness, etc.

Ma. *kulir*, *kulur* coldness, cool, refreshing

24. On the Dravidian side (also to be observed in Mongolian), there seems to be an overlapping of two meanings: (a) 'to eat greedily' and (b) 'to drink'. The former can be linked with DEDR 1923 (Ta. *kūru-koḷ-* to stuff, cram; Ka. *kuluku* to fill with force, cram into, stuff; Te. *kūru* cram, stuff, thrust). In the context of Starostin's reconstructed Altaic forms (on the side of 'eating' rather than 'drinking'), there may be a case for a broader etymon, if more material is collected.

The latter meaning ('to drink', including the form) can be linked with DEDR 1658 (Ko. *gurakni* noise of drinking; etc.) and 1654 (Ta. *kuti* to drink; etc.). For the alternation of dental/cerebral liquids and cerebral stops in Dravidian, cf. Vacek 2002a, pp. 282ff. As for MT. *KÖL-*, MTD links it with Mo. *xoγula(n)* food, meal, victuals.

25. The Dravidian etyma and some of the Altaic parallels in 22a, 22b and 22c were recorded in Vacek 2002a, pp. 286-7. As for the alternation of Dravidian cerebral stop and liquid with the Altaic stops, cf. *ibid.*, p. 282ff., and for the alternation of liquids and sibilants cf. *ibid.*, p. 277ff. That some parts of these 'series' may not be fully attested in all the languages concerned is only natural.

kuḷiruka to be chilly, refreshed, etc.

Ko. *kuḷak in-*, *kuḷkuḷ in-* (hand, feet, body) feel cool, (mind) feels calm

Ka. *kuḷir* to be cool or cold; coldness, coolness, cold, snow, frost

Koḍ. *kuḷi-* cold feeling is, etc. (DEDR 1834)

Ta. *koṭuku* to shrink or shiver with cold

Ma. *kōṭuka* to feel very cold; *kōṭṭam* coldness, stiffness

Ka. *kōḍu* to be cool or cold; coldness; *kōṭa*, *koḍata* coldness (DEDR 2056)

MT. *KURER-* to freeze (ice on window) (Evenk.) (MTD I, 436)

KULDE- to freeze (Evenk. < Mo.) (MTD I, 428)

(22b)²⁶

Ko. *korv-* to be cold; *kor*, *korv* coldness

To. *kwar-* to feel cold; *kwar* cold; *kwar-* to be cold

Ka. *kore*, *kor* to pierce (as cold)

Tu. *korale* cold

Kol. *karvun* id.

Go. *kharrā* frost

karīng, *koring* cold (DEDR 2168)

Mo. *xalimtu-* to freeze over, for ice to form on the surface²⁷

MT. *KALĬ-* 2. to freeze through (Nan.) (MTD I, 366)

OT. *ka:r* snow (Cl. 641)

?*kasna:-* to shiver with cold (Cl. 668)

(22c)

Pa. *girgira* cold

Ga. *girgira* id.

26. Some forms in this paragraph may also be considered a part of 22a but obviously, no clean-cut arrangement of the material is possible. Due to the existence of variants (some of which may be conditioned), there is a continuum of forms, which are difficult to accommodate into narrowly defined 'boxes'.

27. For one aspect of its meaning (ice on the surface), this word could also go with Mo. *xalis* outer layer of something but due to the following MT. word I have refuted this possibility.

Go. *kiriŋ-*, *kirŋg*, *kiḍāng-* to be cold

Kur. *kīm~* to be cold, feel cold (DEDR 1568)

Mo. *kirayu(n)* hoarfrost

(? Turkic according to Cl. 656)

kiramay fine or fluffy snow; first snow, new-fallen snow

körü- to cool off, become cool; to freeze, congeal

körüge-, *körge-* to cool off, freeze, chill

köldü-, *kölde-* to freeze, congeal

köldül freezing, congelation

kölmü- to freeze over (cf. FP *kilmä* Rédei I, 663)

MT. *GER* cool, fresh (MTD I, 147)²⁸

Evenk. *gēr*, *gīr* cool, fresh

gēr̥l-, *gērol-*, *gīrel-* to get cool (evening)

GILLI cold (MTD I, 151)²⁹

Evenk. *gillē* oh, how cold!

gildigdi, *gildeme* cold

Neg. *giligdi*, *gilisi* cold (liquid)

Orok. *gitčilu-*, *gičilu-* to get cold

gitči-si-, *gičisi-* to get cool (food, etc.)

(Even., Oroch., Ud., etc.)

OT. *kiş* winter (Cl. 670)

kira:ğu: hoarfrost (Cl. 656)

OT., Uig. *kyš* winter

Kaz., Yak. *kys* id.

Chuv. *x əl* id. (Räs. 268a)

Middle Tur. *köši* abhalten (die Sonne)

köšigä Schatten (cf. *köligä*, *kölgä*)

Kaz. *küš-ek* vor Kälte starr sein

cf. Mo. *köl-de-*; Fin. *kylmä* kalt (Räs. 294a)

28. MT. has another etymon **KEROU** hoarfrost (MTD I, 389), which has been borrowed partly from Mongolian and partly from Yakut according to the MTD.

29. For Evenk. **gilli**, etc. 3. glittering (ibid.) cf. 16d above.

Cf. Alt.

**kol'i* to freeze

(including Mo. *kölü-*, Turkic, e.g. Tat. *küšek*) (Starostin et alia 2003, pp. 716-7)

**kóre* to freeze

(including MT. *KURER-*, MMo. *kor-be-*, Wmo. *kör-*, OT. *kürtük* snow drift, etc.)
(Starostin et alia 2003, p. 724)

**k'irma* snow, hoarfrost

(including Mo. *kirmay*; OT. *kira:gu:* and a different MT. etymon; not the above MT. and remaining Turkic words) (Starostin et alia 2003, p. 793)

**gi̇lò* cold

(including MT. words s.v. *GILLI* above; OT. *kiş*) (Starostin et alia 2003, p. 545)

**k'āra* thin snow, hoarfrost

(including WMong. *qariγ* strong cold; OT. *ka:r*) (Starostin et alia 2003, p. 799)

FU *käcə* kalt werden, sich erkälten (variant: *kize*; Rédei II, 648)

FP *kilmä* (*külmä*) kalt, Kälte, Frost; kalt werden, gefrieren, erfrieren
(Rédei II, 663)³⁰

An interesting example of parallels in the 'animal world'³¹ is the following set of lexemes used for 'fowl' in the individual languages. At the same time, the etymon demonstrates some of the ramifications of the general correspondence of liquids/sibilants both in Altaic and Dravidian.³²

(23)

Ta. *kōli* gallinaceous fowl

Ma. *kōli* fowl

Ko. *ko:y* id.

To. *kwī:dy* id.; *kwī:y* (in songs)

30. This etymon has a number of variants with other vowels, e.g. **-a-** (**kalmas** kalt), which would go with 22b.

31. For more examples of lexical parallels describing the animal world, cf. Vacek 2002c and 2004a. The following list in No. 23, however, is highly selective.

32. For this phenomenon, cf. Vacek 2002a, 28ff., 277ff. This etymon, however, displays a broader variation of forms (both vowels and consonants) in the Altaic languages, which is similar to other cases described e.g. in Vacek 2002a.

Ka. *kōli* a cock, a hen, a fowl in general

Koḍ. *ko:li* fowl

Tu. *kōri*, *kōli* id.

Te. *kōdi* id.

Nk. *gogodi*, *gogori* cock (< Go.)

Go. *gōgōri*, *gugorī*, *ghogri*, *gogor* id.³³

(Cf. Apa. *kodi*- id., fowl)

(DEDR 2248)

Kol. *kor* hen, cock, fowl

Nk. *kor* hen

Pa. *korr* cock, hen, fowl

Ga. *kor*, *korru* cock

Go. *korr* fowl; *kor*, *kor* id., hen

Konda. *koru* hen

Pe. *kozu*, *kuzu* (pl. *kosku*, *kusku*) fowl

Mand. *kuy* id.

Kui. *koju* (pl. *koska*) id.

Kuwi. *koiyū* (pl. *kōska*), *koyu* (pl. *koska*) id., hen

(DEDR 2160)

cf.

Ta. *kuruku* heron, stork, crane, bird, gallinaceous fowl

Ma. *kuriyan* paddy bird, heron

kuru heron

To. *košk* heron

Tu. *komgu* crane, stork

Te. *pegguru*, *begguru* (< *peru-kuru*) adjutant crane

Go. *koruku* crane

(DEDR 2125a)

?cf.

Ta. *kuruvi*, *kuṇi* small bird

Ma. *kuruvi*, *kukikil*, *kūri* sparrow

Tu. *gurubi*, *burbi*, *gubbi* sparrow

(DEDR 1793)

33. The Go. forms may represent an onomatopoetically conditioned adaptation of this lexeme, cf. Ta. *kokkō-v-enal* onom. expr. of cackling, clucking (TL s.v.).

?Ta. *kutinku* bird (TL: < *kuti-ga*)

?Ta. *kutinaï*³ 2. bird (TL s.v.)

Cf.

Kur. *xər* fowl; Malt. *qéru* id. (DEDR 2013)³⁴

Mo. *xoru* hazel grouse, grey hen; (Go.) black crow with a white neck
xur 2. black grouse

MT. *KŌRI* bird (MTD I, 415)

Oroch. *kōri* myth. iron bird; spirit - aid of the shaman; eagle

Orok. *ḱori* myth. bird

Nan. *ḱori* myth. bird; idol (in the form of a hawk)

GUS eagle (MTD I, 175)

(Evenk., Even., Neg., Oroch., Olcha, Orok., Nan.)

KĪRAN eagle (the 'shouting eagle') (Evenk.) (MTD I, 397-8)

OT. *kuş* bird (Cl. 670)³⁵

var. *ku:ş*, *ko:ş*

kuzyun raven (also used for other large black birds) (Cl. 682)

Uig. *kuzyun* Rahe

Blk. *kuzyun* Hühnergeier (Räs. 305b)

Cf. Alt.

**kiure* woodcock, woodpecker (including Mo. *xoru*) (Starostin et alia 2003, p. 707)

**kül'a* a kind of big bird (including OT. *kuş*) (Starostin et alia 2003, p. 851)

34. In this etymon, there is a reference to DEDR 2009: Ta. *kēru* to cackle (as a hen), speak in a low and tremulous voice, etc. Though the latter does not appear to be recorded for Kur. and Malt., could DEDR 2013 be a contamination of the two original etyma? Cf. below the MT. examples.

35. In this case, the Turkic sibilant is an expected match for the liquid in other Altaic languages; note also the presence of variant forms with sibilants in some languages documented in some of the Dravidian and MT. examples above.

?bū- to be (a defective verb)

?bui (Kh. *bij*) defective verb: is, am, are

MT. *BI-* to be, to exist (in a place), etc.

(MTD I, 79-80)

(Evenk., Sol., Even., Neg., Oroch., Ud., Olcha, Orok., Nan., Ma.)

Cf. Alt.

**baja* place, to be located

(including Mo. *bai-*; and also MT. *BĒ* place, MTD I, 78; *BOIGŌ* estate; *BOJXON* earth, land, both MTD I, 89; these latter MT. examples of Starostin seem to me to be very relevant, cf. also the further Dravidian words in Note 37)

(Starostin et alia 2003, p. 724)

2. Phonetic correspondences

I should not repeat all the correspondences, some of which are rather regular (*m/m*, *n/n*) while others are variable. However, the variation seems to have a certain generally acceptable phonetic basis within the range of articulation series. No condition could be detected for the multiple parallels of some vowels though each of the correspondences (e.g. *a-a*, *a-e*, *a-o*, *o-o*, *o-u*, *e-e*, *e-i* etc.) is represented by a number of examples, mostly more than four (cf. Vacek 1981, including only Dravidian and Mongolian). An attempt to formulate a systematic set of correspondences on the basis of one group of etyma was made by me in 1996b (including Manchu-Tungus and Turkic languages).³⁸

In recent years, it has turned out that with the increasing number of attested lexemes in one section of the vocabulary (not easily definable, but for the most part coinciding with what may be called the basic lexical stock), we can observe an almost systematic variation of the phonetic correspondences along a scale including all the basic vowels. This could be observed to a greater or lesser extent above in several of the paragraphs, e.g. Nos. 7, 12, 16, 22. The phenomenon has been treated together with some of the varying consonants and consonant groups (liquids/sibilants, labials/velars, *r/l*, etc.) under the heading *models* within 'fuzzy sets' of the individual etymological nests (clearly articulated in Vacek 2002a, esp. pp. 8, 24, 160, but observed earlier in several papers starting from 1996). Similarly, the

38. At that time, I had not yet formulated the idea of a model and tried to establish the respective 'atomistic' correspondences between the individual lexemes. That the material presented there can also be conceived as a model is obvious. Cf. further below.

question of the relationship of Dravidian retroflex liquids to dental liquids and sibilants in Altaic caused some hesitation and the possibility was accepted by me only after a sufficient number of cases was compiled (cf. Vacek 2002a, esp. Appendix VII, pp. 277ff.). However, in certain cases, the preserved examples do not complete such models totally and there are 'holes' in the patterns of correspondences of some etyma (cf. *ibid.*, p. 34 on the 'missing forms').

In that context, I should like to draw attention to some variable correspondences, which are particularly conspicuous. They are based on the variation in the individual languages. A great sound variation may be observed in Mongolian, which obviously reflects a dialectal mixture ultimately accommodated in the language as a variation with or without greater semantic changes, which is often the reason why the 'sound correspondences' between Dravidian and Mongolian also 'oscillate'.

E.g.

a/o cf. No. 7: Mo. *angyai-/ongyui-*; No. 14: Mo. *γarzai-/γorzui-*

ö/ü cf. No. 21: Mo. *kölkü-/külkü-*

k/g cf. No. 11: Mo. *akira-/agira-*

Similar variation applies to Dravidian as a whole and also to individual languages:

a/o cf. No. 22b: Kol. *karvun/Go. karīng/koring*

ā/ō cf. No. 16a-c: Ma. *kāḷuka/ Te. gōlincu-*

ā/o cf. No. 16a-c: Ma. *kāḷu/ Ta. kolli*

ē/ā cf. No. 27a: Tu. *ēvuro/ Ta. āvu-*

ē/i cf. No. 10: Ma. *ēku-/ Ta. iku-*

ē/a cf. No. 26a: Ta. *ēṇku-/ aṇkalāy-*

Vowel length in Dravidian is represented by short vowels in Mongolian. Dr. *VV* (long vowel) corresponds to Mo. *V* (short vowel), e.g. Nos. 9-12, 16a, 18-21, 23, 25 etc., though length can also vary within Dravidian (No. 23).

These variations may often be due to dialectal mixture in the respective languages. On the other hand, the development in various languages may not have been uniform and some forms have either not developed or

they were not preserved. In some lexemes, however, a remarkable variety of forms and extended meanings was preserved.

The following example (No. 25) may demonstrate the possibility of a more complex variation in Dravidian and Altaic not only along the vowel scale but also within the labial-velar opposition (observed above in No. 7), which is a very frequently occurring variation. It represents a complex model, whose formal properties can be found within a number of other etyma. Variation also concerns the semantic range of this etymon. Semantically, it displays a range of meanings from 'rise, grow' to 'jump, fly' and 'top, hill', 'exceed', 'be great' and the like. A formally different lexical nest (*Vk-/Vp-* etc.) of verbs with this meaning was analysed by me earlier (in Vacek 1996b, pp. 297ff.), and the material displayed a similarly broad semantic variation. The list of words in No. 25 offers only the main contours of the model, which is arranged into two groups (25a: medial labial; 25b: medial velar), while the vowels are presented as a 'continuum' within each section. Note that in such 'models' we may also identify exact matches of the 'atomistic' type.³⁹

(25a)

Ta. *tippai* mound, elevated ground

Ka. *tippe* heap, hillock, dunghill

tevar(u), *tevari* rising ground, hillock

Tu. *tippè* heap, pile, hill

(*tuppè* stack, heap of corn or rice)

Tc. *tippa* hill, hillock, rock, mountain, heap, mound, small island

dibba hillock, mound, heap

Pa. *dippa* heap; *dibba* mound

Ga. *dibbe* hillock, mound

39. In No. 25a, this could include, for example, the following lexemes:

Ta. **tippai** mound, elevated ground

Ka. **tippe** heap, hillock, dunghill

tevar(u), **tevari** rising ground, hillock, etc. (DEDR 3229)

Mo. **deb** 3. terrace; hillock

debegül hillock on a swamp or marsh

MT. **DĪV** mountainous (top, summit, etc.) (MTD I, 202)

OT. **töpü** the top (of a mountain, etc.), or a man's head; a hill (Cl. 436)

Go. *dippa* highland for cultivation, forest field
dibe heap

Kui. *depa* rising ground, high land, lower slopes of a hill, shore, earth
platform, veranda, dais

Kuwi. *debbe* hill; *dā'ali dibba* sand-hill

Kur. *dippā* mound, hillock

Malt. *tube* a heap of filth or sweepings (cf. DEDR 3239, Ka. *dimmi*)

(DEDR 3229)

Kuwi. *diba* sand-hill

(Israel, 368)

Ka. *dimmi* an eminence, elevated spot

temar rising ground, hillock

dimba bank of a river

Te. *dimma* any elevation or eminence, mound

Pa. *demma* elevated ground

Kuwi. *damaka* flat ground on top of a mountain

? Ta. *timil* hump of bullock (cf. DEDR 3229, Ta. *tippai*) (DEDR 3239)

Ta. *timir* to grow, increase, become more intense; to grow stout from
obesity; obesity, wantonness

timiru to grow tall and big

Ma. *timiruka* to swell, grow (be angry)

timirppu triumph, arrogance

Te. *timuru* to be proud, abound, increase, bubble with desires, (hasten);
pride, arrogance, excessive or superabundant strength, vigour or spirits,
(pruriency, haste)

tivuru (to hasten), increase, abound, swell (as the sound of war drums, etc.)

(DEDR 3233)⁴⁰

Further cf.

Ta. *niva-* to rise, be elevated, grow, spread, overflow

nivar- to rise high

nivappu elevation, height

40. Ta. *timir-*, Mo. *devsi-* were mentioned in Vacek 1983, No. 98.

Te. *nevayu* (*negayu*, *egayu*) to fly, go up, rise up, jump

[Ma. *nikakka* to rise; etc.; further below in 25b] (DEDR 3730)

Go. *dev-* to jump

Kuwi. *devali* to bound, jump

ḍewinai to leap; *ḍēv-/ḍēm-* to jump (s.v. DEDR 2971, Ka. *ḍin̄ku* a jump)⁴¹

Ta. *tāvu-* to jump up, skip over, leap over; attack, fly; jumping, leaping, moving, going, galloping

tavvu- to leap, jump, etc.

Ma. *tāvuka* to rush in upon, spread

[Ka. *tāgu* to jump, skip, leap over] (DEDR 3177)

Ta. *tava* much, intensely

To. *tof iñ-* to be perfect

Ka. *tave* abundantly, greatly, wholly, completely, exceedingly (DEDR 3106)

Kuwi. *tapa* severely, very much (Israel, 371)

Mo. *debke-* to jump, leap

debsi- to rise, go up; to develop, advance, etc.

deb 3. terrace; hillock

debegül hillock on a swamp or marsh

cf. *neme-* to add, supplement, increase

dobu hill, mound, knoll

dobucay elevated place, mound, hillock

dobui-, *tobui-* to be convex, protuberant, protruding; to swell up, puff up

tomu great, big, tall, huge, gigantic

daba- to climb over, cross over, ascend

dabara- to exceed; to overflow; to trespass; etc.

dabay-a(n) a. mountain pass; mountain range

dabayu surpassing, outstanding, excellent; exceedingly, too

damzi- 2. to climb

41. Cf. below the examples with medial velar (25b). The unconditioned initial alternation of dental with a cerebral occlusive here (and elsewhere) is to be explained as a result of spontaneous development (cf. Vacek 2002a, 282).

- MT. *TIPI-* to rise (smoke, vapour) (Evenk.) (MTD II, 185)
- DEBGĬK-* (to move), to rise into the air (dust, fluff) (MTD I, 227)
- (Even., Olcha)
- DEMNU-* to jump (on one leg) (Oroch.) (MTD I, 234)
- TĪBAŋA* high (Even.) (MTD II, 174)
- DIV* mountainous (top, summit, etc.)
- (Evenk., Even., Neg., Oroch., Ud.) (MTD I, 202-3)
- (Olcha, Orok., Nan. have variants with medial *-u-*; for medial velar cf. below)
- cf. *JEVL-R-* to make greater (the size) (Even.) (MTD I, 658)
- N'IMČĀN-* to jump (Evenk.) (MTD I, 638)
- Ma. *nemsele-* to add, multiply, increase (Ma.) (s.v. *NEME-* II, MTD I, 622)
- TOMSO-* to hoist, lift, raise (Ma.) (MTD II, 196)
- TOMTOR* hillock, mound (Evenk. < Yak.?) (MTD II, 197)
- DAVA-* to cross over (a hilltop) (MTD I, 185)
- e.g. Ma. *daba* extremely
- daba-* to cross over (s.th. high)
- (Evenk., Even., Neg., Oroch., Ud., Olcha, Orok., Nan., Ma.)
- Neg. *dav-* to cross over
- Nan. *dā-*, *dāvači-* to cross over (a river, lake) (etc.; s.v. *DĀΓ-* to cross over, cf. below; MTD I, 187)
- OT. *töpü* the top (of a mountain or a man's head); a hill (Cl. 436)
- ?*toma*: that which rises to the top (of a jar of millet beer) (Cl. 503)
- Cf. Alt.
- **dāpà* to cross (a mountain)
- (including Mo. *daba-*; MT. *DĀΓ-*, MTD I, 187 [both medial velar and labial])
- (Starostin et alia 2003, p. 464)
- **újpè* hill, top (including MT. *DIV*; Mo. *dobu(n)*) (Starostin et alia 2003, p. 1382-3)

**nema* to add, exceed

(including Mo. *neme-*; OT. *jeme* moreover; addition)

(Starostin et alia
2003, p. 969)

**t'ěp'á* tuft (of hair)

(including OT. *töpü*)

(Starostin et alia 2003, p. 1418-19)

(25b)

Ka. *dīnku* a jump, leap, skipping about in frolic, gambol

[Go. *dev-* to jump]

Kui. *dega* to run, jump, leap

[Kui. *devali* to bound, jump

dēwinai to leap; *dēv-/dēm-* to jump]

Kur. *degnā* to leap, jump

(DEDR 2971)

cf. Go. *dheñña:l* high, tall

(Subrahmanyam 1968, p. 205)

Kur. *dēg* n. leap; *dēgnā* to leap

(Bleses, p. 97)

Further cf.

Ma. *nikakka* to rise

Ka. *nege*, [*nese*] to rise, ascend, go upward, jump

negapu, *negavu* to lift up, hold uplifted

negasu to cause to jump or jump over

neggu (Hav.) to lift

Kod. *nekkura* cliff

Tu. *negiyuni* to rise, come up

negipuni to leap, jump, spring up

negapuni to overflow

Kor. *negi* to lift

Tc. *negayu* [*nevayu*] to fly, go up, rise up, jump

Kol. *negay-* to fly; *negap-* to make to fly

Nk. *negay-* to fly, rise; *negap-* to make to fly or rise

(DEDR 3730c,
s.v. Ta. *niva-*)⁴²

OTa. *takar*⁵ 1. elevated ground

(TL s.v.)

Ka. *tāgu* to jump, skip, leap over

(s.v. Ta. *tāvu-*, DEDR 3177)⁴³

Mo. *degde-* to rise; to fly up; to jump, hop

degzi- to rise, improve; to thrive; to flare up

degedü higher, upper; highest, supreme, etc.

degüli- to jump a distance, jump across or over, leap

degegür above, over; on the surface

deger-e top; on top of, on, at, above; high; etc.

tegdei- 2. to rise up

tegeg 2. (Kaz.) hill or low mountain with one gently sloping side and the other side steep

42. The last example may be another testimony of the alternation of initial stops with the respective nasals (DEDR 2971 vs. 3730; cf. Vacek 2002a, pp. 61ff. plus the Mo. and MT. examples further below), which in Dravidian is typical of the Brahui correspondence Br. **d-** Dravidian **n-** (e.g. Zvelebil 1970, p. 130, par. 1.28.2, and p. 133; Subrahmanyam 1983, p. 384).

The etymon may also further demonstrate a possible 'loss of the initial **n-**' (Zvelebil, 1970, p. 39 speaks of an 'unstable **n-**'; further see *ibid.* p. 133; cf. also Subrahmanyam 1983, p. 383, par. 30.2): Ta. **ivar** to rise on high, ascend, etc., Kuwi **epki ki-** to cause to climb; and Ta. **ika** to leap over, cross over, etc.; also to be found in DEDR 3730, for which there are also Altaic parallels, e.g. Mo. **ögsü-** to ascend, go upstream, **ögede** upwards (cf. Vacek 1996b, No. 1.2, pp. 299ff. and above No. 12); MT. **IVADALA-** to raise; etc.

These examples may obviously be rearranged into a greater model similar to that discussed by me in Vacek 2002a.

DEDR 3730 was subdivided by me according to the phonetic form: a - Ta. **niva** etc.; b - Ta. **ivar** etc.; c - Ka. **nege** etc.; d - Ta. **ika** etc.; e - Ka. **nese**; f - Ta. **iya**.

43. Cf. also another DEDR etymon, which may be remotely related with this group, though its meaning is not fully compatible:

Ta. **tānku** to uphold, bear up, support, protect, endure, bear, etc.

tānki support, prop, defence, one who supports

Ma. **tānnu** support, a vault, staff of a spear

tānnuka to support, keep, sustain

Ko. **ta:ŋg-** to support (burden), endure, make to escape from death or ill-treatment

To. **to:g-** to support (burden) (DEDR 3153a)

Cf. Mo. **döng** prop, support, further below.

dengkei- to be or appear very high, tall, or large

dengkeger very tall or high

dengzi hillock, knoll; terrace

neng still (more), by far, farther

döngdúi- to protrude, stick out halfway; to rise or raise oneself slightly

döngdegüü too, over, excessively; too much

tüngkei- to swell up, become bloated or inflated

tügdüi- to be bulging

tüngsüi- to bulge, distend

?*döng* prop, support

?*döngne-* to prop up, support

(cf. Ta. *tānku-* to uphold, bear up, support) (above DEDR 3153a, Note 43)

toylui- to be large, robust, corpulent, healthy

tong, tüng 2. extremely, very, very much

tayul-, toyul-, tuyul- a. to pass; to surmount, overcome

tangyalza- to carry one's head high, take on airs, walk with the head in the clouds

tangnai, tanglai b. hillock, hillside

?*tangnuu* name of the Tannu mountains (in Tannu Tuva)

MT. *DEG-* to fly; raise

(Evenk., Sol., Even., Neg., Oroch., Ud., Olcha, Orok., Nan., Ma., Jurch.)

(MTD I, 228-9)

TEGDEN- to rise to the sandbank (Ud.)

(MTD II, 226)

TEGE- 2. to rise from bed, to rise after sleep

(Evenk., Even., Neg., Oroch., Ud., Olcha, Orok., Nan., Ma.)

(MTD II, 226-8)

TEKSEN to overflow the brim (Olcha)

(MTD II, 229)

TEŋNE- to jump over (Ma.) (MTD II, 236)

DIGDE- to cross over (a river on a log) (Evenk.) (MTD I, 204)

Evenk. *dīyū* mountainous

(similarly Even., Neg., Oroch., Ud.; for medial labial cf. above)

(s.v. *DĪV* mountainous, MTD I, 202-3)

cf. *N'ETURKĪ* big, large (Evenk.) (MTD I, 650)

ŋÖÖŋI abundant, copious (Evenk.) (MTD I, 665)

TOKČOXO hill, mound (MTD II, 194)

Neg. id.; *togčal-togčal* jumping (sleigh over holes)

DUḲDUXUN convex, protuberant (Ma.) (MTD I, 220)

DUXIRI- to protrude, stick out (Nan.) (MTD I, 220)

DĀT- to cross over (Evenk., Ma.) (MTD I, 187)

(var. medial -v- cf. 20a above)

OT. *teŋ-* to soar, shoot high (Cl. 514)

ta:g mountain (Cl. 463)

var. *dağ, da:ğ*

Cf. Alt.

**tēga* high; top, mountain

(including Mo. *degde-*; MT. *DEF-*; OT. *ta:g*) (Starostin et alia 2003, p. 1359)

Cf.

Jap. *takamaru* to rise, be raised

takaku 1. high, aloft; 2. to be advanced in position; rise to a higher position

takadai high (elevated) ground; a hill; an eminence; a height, an elevation

takeru to excel, be proficient in

?*nagaku* long, for long, for a long time

The variation of *-k/-nk-* etc. in the root is attested in Dravidian comparative linguistics (e.g. K. Zvelebil 1970, pp. 168ff.; P.S. Subrahmanyam 1983, pp. 307ff.). Sometimes, it is found only in one language group (cf. No. 7a: Ta. *aṅkā* / Kui *ēga-*), or it may be attested as a parallel variation in both

groups (e.g. No. 10: Ta. *iku-*, Ka. *inku*; Mo. *ög-*, *önggürzi-*; No. 12: Ta. *ōnku-*, Ko. *ōk-*; Mo. *önggei-*, *ögede*, etc.). An analogical variation also concerns the other series of nasals and stops (cf. Vacek 2002a, p. 66 with further references).

In the following case (26a), this formal variation is also accompanied by semantic variation, which seems to be typical of many roots - there is a scale of meanings, which may be extensions of one original meaning, but there is no way to prove it, particularly if the 'extensions' are not very close semantically. Some of the meanings may therefore represent separate meanings, only 'contextually' overlapping with the other ones and seemingly representing only extensions, as it is the case of DEDR 31, which may conveniently be split into three parts. I try to pinpoint the individual meanings and follow them through the whole range of languages. There are obviously three separate meanings:

a - to grieve (26b)

b - to lament (26b)

c - to desire, long for (26a)

The first two are very close contextually and in many cases, they seem to be mingling with each other and overlapping in one lexeme, and thus it is difficult to separate them. However, the meanings *a*, *b* are definitely different from the meaning *c* listed in 26a below.⁴⁴

Similarly, DEDR 878 is split into:

44. This etymon was divided into three parts by me in Vacek 2000, p. 28, Note 17.

As for the first two meanings, viz. DEDR 31a - 'to grieve', DEDR 31b - 'to lament', etc. besides other Dravidian parallels, there are also parallels in Altaic. E.g. by designating various 'noises', the following lexemes may be compared with meaning *b* (to lament):

?Ta. *iku*-² 6. to beat a drum; 7. to play an instrument;
8. to call, invite (TL s.v.)

Te. *inkuva* a sigh (s.v. DEDR 419)

Mo. *egere*- 3.b. to choke with crying or sobbing (a. to stutter, stammer)

MT. *EI'GERI*- to moan, sigh (Evenk., MTD II, 437)

OT. *iġla*:- to weep (Cl. 85); *aŋra*:-, *iŋra*:- (Cl. 189) and *aŋi:la*:- to bray;
aŋi:da:- to shout, scream (Cl. 186)

Cf. also Ko. *ag*- to weep, cry (below 26b).

These lexemes are close to the etyma designating 'noise' in general and 'speaking' (for the semantic range cf. Vacek 1994 and especially 2003).

a - desire (medial velar) (26a)

b - grief (medial velar) (26b)

c - desire (medial labial) (27a)

It is printed as a whole in 26a, only the lexemes not fitting the paragraph formally or semantically are put in square brackets.

A similar semantic 'range' (consisting of two meanings, generally falling under the heading of 'desire' and 'grief') is also encountered with the labial series, which is dealt with in paragraphs 27a (desire), 27b (grief, lament). An analogical semantic 'range' may be found with some lexemes in Mongolian.

(26a)⁴⁵

Ta. *aṅkalāy* to be envious, covet

Ko. *aṅla:pm* desire liking

Tu. *aṅgalappu* covetousness; *aṅgu* greed, etc.

(DEDR 31c)

Ma. *akāvu* gluttony, greediness

(s.v. DEDR 394)

?Te. *akkara* desire

(s.v. DEDR 281)

Ta. *ēṅku* [to pine, languish], long for, yearn after

ēkkam despondency, craving

ēkkaru to languish, long for

[Ma. *ēkkam* grief, anxiety]

[Ko. *e:ṅg-* (*e:ṅgy-*) to grieve

e:katm extreme sorrow]

[Tu. *ēvuro* greediness

yēvura excessive desire]

Te. *ēkaru*, *ēkāru* to long

ēkata strong desire, longing

45. The distribution of velars and labials reminds us of the previous paragraphs. The Dravidian etyma listed here in 26a and 27a were arranged slightly differently in my earlier paper (Vacek 2000, pp. 26-28). The paper also included some other lexemes, which were left out here to make the matter easier to survey and which can be found in that paper.

[*ēcu* to harass, torment, annoy, trouble

ēpu torment]

[Kol. *ēva* jealous]

Kur. *ēxnā* to be dissatisfied, want more

Malt. *ége* to be dissatisfied

(DEDR 878a)

Mo. *angya-* b. to hope, yearn for

engse- (*ense-*) to desire ardently; to importune

engsel- (*ensel-*) [a. to be troubled, upset, or disturbed]⁴⁶

b. to crave, desire strongly

?*engküre-* (*enküre-*) to cherish, love tenderly

egere- 1. [a. to seek, search]

b. to demand; to wish strongly, need urgently; to expect, hope

öngge(n) c. lust, sexual passion

?*önggei-* to watch for an opportunity; to encroach

MT. *ĒKSIT-/Č-* to expect (Evenk., Neg., Olcha, Nan.) (MTD II, 443)

EKERĒKE- to wait (Evenk.) (MTD II, 444)

46. It is interesting to note that the meanings of Mo. *engsel-* (*ensel-*) sub [a.] somehow correlate with a part of the Dravidian etyma in par. 26b; however, they may also be referred to:

Mo. *enel-* to suffer pain of body or mind; to grieve, lament, be distressed

The latter may in turn correlate with Dravidian, Manchu-Tungus and Turkic:

Ta. *inal-* to lament, cry, grieve; to torment;
inaivu crying in distress, pain of mind

Ma. *enayuka* to moan, groan, lament, cry, sob
enaccal crying (DEDR 532)

MT. *IN'AMŪ-* to weep (MTD I, 319)
(Evenk., Sol, Even., Neg., Ud., Orok., Nan.)
ENŪ- to ache, to ail; to sob, whine (MTD II, 454-455)
(Evenk., Sol., Even., Neg., Oroch., Ud., Orok., Nan.)
Ma. *eŋ seme* onom. moaning (of an ill person)

OT. *inçik* groaning (Cl. 174)

Could there have been an overlapping of meaning also between DEDR 532 and 878? Starostin et alia 2003 (pp. 508-9, s.v. **enV* pain, sickness) has Mo. *enerel-*, MT. *ENŪ-*, but a different Turkic lexeme.

CT.Alt.

**es/i/* to take care of

(including MT. *EKSIT-*; and also MT. *ESKE-* to praise, MTD II, 468)

(Starostin et alia 2003, p. 521)

(26b)

Ta. *aṅkalāy-* to lament, grieve, worry

aṅkalāppu anxiety, worry, disquiet

Ka. *aṅgal* to grieve, be afflicted

aṅgalā(r)cu to cry from grief, grieve, sorrow

Te. *aṅgalārucu* to grieve, lament, cry out from fear, grief or pain

aṅgada misfortune, trouble; mental agony, anxiety

Kur. *aṅglnā* etc. to weep loudly

(DEDR 31a, b)

Ko. *ag-* to weep, cry

(s.v. Ta. *alu-* to cry, weep, lament; DEDR 282b)

Ta. *ēṅku* to pine, languish

Ma. *ēkkam* grief, anxiety

Ko. *e:ṅg-* (*e:ṅgy-*) to grieve

e:katm extreme sorrow

(DEDR 878b, s.v. *ēṅku-*)

Ta. *ēṅku* [to sound, scream as a peacock], weep, wail

(s.v. DEDR 879)⁴⁷

Mo. *engsel-* a. to be troubled, upset or disturbed

MT. *ETI* illness (Evenk.)

(MTD II, 437)

ETERĪ- to moan, sigh (Evenk.)

(MTD II, 437)

?*UḶKĪ-* to weep (Evenk.)

(MTD II, 279)

OT. *AḶL4-* II to grieve, to worry; to suffer

(OTD s.v.)

AḶRĪ- to fall ill

(OTD s.v.)

AḶĪRĪ- to be ill

(OTD s.v.)

47. The rest of the etymon has only the meanings 'to scream', 'to sound', etc. This etymon and some other etyma seem to represent the continuous 'transition' to etyma referring only to the 'sound', 'shout', etc. meanings. This clearly shows the 'fluid' character and overlapping of some of the etyma of the basic lexical stock in the languages concerned.

† (27a)

Ta. *āvu* to desire

āval great desire, craving, earnestness

āvalar lovers

avāvu to desire, crave for, covet

avā desire for a thing, covetousness

avāvan avaricious person

avavu avidity

Ma. *āvikka* to desire

āval desire

āv-ērram excessive desire

[*akāvu* gluttony, greediness]

To. *o:fil* desire to eat

Te. *āba* greediness

(DEDR 394)

?Ka. *abbara* desire, craving

abbarisu to desire (s.v. Ta. *ārvam* affection, love, desire; DEDR 381)

OTa. *amar*-² 1. to wish, desire

(TL; cf. DEDR 162)

Tu. *ēvuro* greediness

yēvura excessive desire

Kol. *ēva* jealous

(DEDR 878c, s.v. *ēṅku*-)

OTa. *ivar*- 2. to desire, long for, hanker after

ivaru- it. 1. to desire earnestly, wish for; tr. 1. to be niggardly

ivaral 1. wish; 2. covetousness, avarice; 3. miserliness, niggardliness

OTa. *ēmā*- 2. to desire

(TL s.v.)

?*ippini* miser

(TL s.v.)⁴⁸

Mo. *ebi*- constantly to desire more (said of a stingy person)

48. (Jaffna); is the TL explanation as *ṭ* 'to give' + *pini* 'disease, sickness, suffering' to be considered a folk etymology?

- MT. *EMIŠ*- to suffer deficiency (Even.) (MTD II, 450)
 ?*ABUL* deficiency, scarcity
 (Evenk., Sol., Even., Neg., Oroch., Ud., Olcha, Orok., Nan., Ma.)
 (MTD I, 6-7)⁴⁹
- ?OT. *um*- to ask for, or covet something (Cl. 155)
umdu: covetousness, desire (Cl. 157)
umun- to desire, request, or pray for something (Cl. 162)
umunç desire, request, prayer; expectation, hope (Cl. 162)
- (27b)
- Ta. *avalam* suffering, pain, distress, poverty, want, sorrowing, care, anxiety, fault, sickness, disease
avali to suffer, be distressed, lament, weep, be flurried
avalai pain
āvali to weep, cry, lament, grieve
āvalāti complaint, grievance
- Ma. *āval* sorrow, pain
āvalāti vexation, grumbling, complaint
- Ka. *hāvali* trouble, annoyance
- Tu. *hāvali* trouble, difficulty, evil
- Te. *āvali* trouble
āvaḍi trouble, danger, calamity
- Br. *avalēnging* to become confused, feel embarrassed (DEDR 265)⁵⁰
- Mo. *ebed*- to be taken ill, be sick; to hurt, feel pain
- MT. *AVŪL*- I to become melancholic, be bored (Evenk., Even.) (MTD I, 10)
ABALAN- to be distressed (Evenk. < Yakut) (MTD I, 3)
EVLĒN- to feel sorry, regret (Evenk.) (MTD II, 435)

49. However, due to its abstract meaning, this word may also be related to a different etymon with the meaning 'short, insufficient', etc. (cf. Mo. *aydui*- to shorten, shrink, contract). Starostin et alia 2003, p. 308, link it with Mo. *ebed*- to be taken ill (27b).

50. A strange coincidence with this etymon may be Skt. *āpad*- misfortune, calamity, distress (not an early occurrence, attested in Manu, etc.), which is derived from *ā-pad*- (*yate*) to come, walk near, approach; fall into, get into trouble, etc. (MW.). Could this development be a result of processes in an early language contact within the Indian linguistic area?

?OT. *EVŠÜK* aged person's ailments, decrepitude (OTD s.v.)

?*emge*:- to suffer pain

emge:k 1 pain, agony (Cl. 159)

Yakut *abalā*- to distress, grieve (MTD I, 3)

In DEDR 878, there is another formal feature observed in one root, which differs from the rest by having a medial palatal. There seems to be a Mongolian parallel.⁵¹

(28)

Ta. *ēcaru*- to long for, desire; be troubled, feel sorry

ēcaravu desire, longing; regret, penitence (s.v. Ta. *ēñku*, DEDR 878)

Kuwi. *īsu ā*- to covet (Israel 337)

Mo. *ica*- to hope for, expect

Cf. Alt.

**ič'* *V* to hope, see (including Mo. *ica*-; MT. *ICE*- to see, MTD I, 334-5)

(Starostin et alia 2003, pp. 579-80)

3. Morphological features

In morphology, there are two layers of suffixes - one is the 'external' layer of inflectional suffixes, which is represented quite unsatisfactorily in the comparative material. The other is the layer of 'derivative' elements of the verb, which are of two types - formative suffixes of the root and the so-called 'temporal' suffixes.

The common morphological features to be found in the temporal suffixes were discussed in my early paper (Vacek 1978). These suffixes were originally probably verbal nouns (Vacek 1978, p. 142; Vacek 1996a, p. 34; plus further references). In both language families, these suffixes also have the function of verbal participles or converbs as the Altaic linguistic tradition calls them. The use of these forms in Tamil and Mongolian was compared by me in 1985.

51. Note also the similarity of the root with Skt. root *iṣ-* (*icchatī* to endeavour, to desire, wish, long for, etc.), which is undoubtedly of IE origin (Mayrhofer, KEWA s.v.).

However, there is another group of morphemes, which occur after the (C)VC- root in Dravidian and form what could be called 'secondary stems'.⁵² These suffixes were very extensively dealt with by Bh. Krishnamurti as a category called secondary formations (e.g. 1961, 134,176 ff.) with a thorough formal descriptive study of the types of these suffixes (pp. 137ff.). K.M. Sastri (1969, p. 214) calls them formative suffixes. They had already been noticed by R. Caldwell (1913, pp. 205ff.), who called them 'particles of specialization' (especially those on pp. 207 and 209). P.S. Subrahmanyam (1983, pp. 22ff.) calls them the 'derivative element'. Earlier (1971, pp. 3ff.), P.S. Subrahmanyam mentioned some of these suffixes containing the C/NC element within the category of intransitive/transitive bases. Most recently, the subject was resumed by Bh. Krishnamurti,⁵³ who analysed systematically the various forms of these 'primary derivative suffixes'. These suffixes, especially those having the -VL(V)-, -VR(V)-, -VCV- or -VNCV- structure, are of great interest for Dravidian and Altaic comparison.

Some of these 'elements' seem to be shared by Dravidian and Mongolian stems though with parallel roots, they are not always identical. However, there appears to be a number of common features in this 'derivative layer', occasionally similar variations (Nos. 6, 11, 14, 16, 17, 18), though the distribution of the parallels is not necessarily equal throughout all the languages. In some cases, the derivative element may be missing in one of the languages (No. 12). Some seem to be more complex, e.g. *acai* (No. 8 above). Here, the liquid appears to form a verbal stem on the one side (Ta. -r-, Ka. -r), and a noun on the other (Mo. -l), unless we decide to take them as two different suffixes, which is still not very clear from the overall picture of the material. In some cases, the agreement of the formative element of the secondary stem is very clear, as e.g. the following etyma (Ta. *meluku* and Mo. *milaya*-, No. 29, and Kur. *alkhnā* and Mo. *elegle*-, No. 30; these lexemes were listed first in Vacek 1983, Nos. 2.36.1 and 2.21 respectively). However, such nests may also include lexemes without the formative element.

(29)

Ta. *meluku* to cleanse the floor with a cow-dung solution, smear as the body with sandal paste, gloss over, varnish; cow-dung, wax, gum
melukku smearing with cow-dung water as the floor, cow-dung, substance or solution used to smear any surface

52. This aspect was also briefly discussed by me as a root extension (Vacek 2002a, pp. 42, 59).

53. 'The origin and evolution of primary derivative suffixes in Dravidian', 1997, reproduced in Krishnamurti 2001, pp. 284ff.

Ma. *melu*, *meluku* wax

melukuka to anoint, wax, varnish, daub a place with cow-dung

To. *möšk-* to smear with the dung of buffaloes as a ritual purification

mösk wax

Go. *mitānā* to apply; *mitus-* to apply (sacred mark)

Konda. *miris-* to rub and clean utensils with ashes, etc.

Br. *miring* to plaster (DEDR 5082)⁵⁴

Kur. *nīrnā* to rub down, powder, scrape into bits (as medicinal rock, kitchen nuts, etc.)

nirⁱgnā to besmear, soil with dirt, rub (DEDR 3691b)⁵⁵

Kur. *nisⁱgnā* to overlay with a coating of earth carefully smoothed down, stop a hole with earth, besmear with any adhesive substance

Malt. *nisge* to smooth

nīsyē to shampoo (DEDR 3666)⁵⁶

54. Some of the languages lost the medial liquid completely and are not listed here.

55. The Kurukh and Malto words are question-marked in the DE DR (Ta. *nīvu*, Ka. *nivaru*, etc.; cf. also Vacek 2002a, p. 204, where these words are viewed as a part of a different model). As for the variation of initial *m/n* suggested here, it may be observed both in Dravidian and Mongolian (Mo. *nīla-* below). Perhaps, it will be understood after more examples are examined and compared, cf. e.g.

Mo. **melijed** for the most part, in large numbers, much
nelijed very significant, considerable, considerably

milcai- to become soft; to become wet

nilcai- to become sticky, clammy; to give way (as mud or slush)

Ta. **nulai** to creep through a narrow passage, penetrate; put, insert (DEDR 3714)

mulai to enter; to pierce, bore (DEDR 4994)

nol- to bale out as water, etc. (DEDR 3790)

mol- to take in a vessel, as water; etc. (DEDR 5124)

It may be significant that Poppe (1964, p. 34) mentions the change of **m-* > *ń-* in Manchu before *ij* (i.e. before a palatal vowel). It may explain the Mongolian cases but not the Dravidian cases, which are not palatalised. Zvelebil (1970, p. 128, par. 1.27.8) registers a similar dialectal change of *m* > *n* in **muppatu** > **nuppatu** (thirty), which he explains by the influence of the following numeral **nārpātu** (forty).

56. This may be another example of the alternation of liquids and sibilants in Dravidian. Cf. Note 25 above and Vacek 2002a, p. 277ff. for more examples. The same concerns To. **möšk-** above in DE DR 5082. This makes the set of etyma into another complex model.

Mo. *milaya*- to anoint, smear with oil; to perform the ritual of anointing new-born children, new dwellings and other newly perfected objects by smearing them with butter, milk, etc. for securing good fortune.

bila-, *bilaya*- to coat with, smear, spread; to soil

bilca- to smear all over; to splash in the mud

bilda- to smear on, spread, apply⁵⁷

?*nila*- to smear, rub

MT. *BIRE*- to knead the dough (Nan., Ma.) (MTD I, 85)

Olcha. *bire*-, *birekule*- id.

?*PILA* earwax, *pila*- to produce earwax (Evenk.) (MTD II, 38)

?*MELME*- to become thick (blood) (Ma.) (MTD I, 567)

?*MERIKTIKŪN* honey (Evenk.) (MTD I, 571)

?*N'ILI*- to smear, coat, lubricate, paint

(Neg., Ud., Olcha, Orok., Nan., Ma.) (MTD I, 638)

Cf. Alt.

**mala* honey, plant oil

(including Mo. *milaya*-; and also MT. *MALA*, e.g. Nan. *malengu* plant oil, MTD I, 523-4) (Starostin et alia 2003, pp. 897-8)

**bilč'i* to mix, knead

(including Mo. *bilca*-; and also MT. *BILČA*-, to mix, MTD I, 83) (Starostin et alia 2003, pp. 342-3)

**lâlè* sticky substance (including Mo. *nila*-) (Starostin et alia 2003, p. 865)

(30)

Ta. *ili* to laugh, scorn, ridicule, disgrace; to become low-spirited because of being ridiculed by others

?*ici* to laugh; laughter; *icippu* laughter (cf. Note 56 above and the Mongolian form below)

57. Alternation of initial dental stop/nasal was observed above No. 25ab, especially Note 42.

Ma. *ilī* contemptuous grin

ilika to fret, as children

ilikka to grin (as dogs, monkeys), show the teeth (DEDR 511)

OTa. *ēlanam* mockery, jeer

(TL s.v.)

Ta. *alattu* to tease, annoy, pester, bluster, be boisterous; trouble, annoyance, raving, delirium

alatti bully, blusterer

Ma. *alattuka* to importune

(DEDR 243)

Kur. *alkh-nā* to laugh, laugh at, mock seduce

alkhānakhrnā to laugh together, have unlawful intercourse

alkhāban'nā joking relations

Malt. *alqe* to laugh

alqro person addicted to laughter

(DEDR 254)

Mo. *eleg* object of derision; mockery, scoff, cynicism

elegle- to poke fun or laugh at, ridicule, satirize

?*özi-* to be lewd; to be troublesome, irksome; to be rude; to gloat over the misfortune of others (cf. Note 56 above and the Tamil form above)

alij-a playful, naughty, mischievous

MT. *ILGI-* to play pranks, be mischievous, to have fun (Evenk.) (MTD I, 307)

ERĒ- I to mock (Evenk., Even.)

(MTD II, 466)

ALAMĀ- to imitate, mimic; to tease, mock

(Even., Sol., Even., Neg., Ud. Orok. Ma.)

(MTD I, 29)

OT. *elü:g* mockery, ridicule

(Cl. 142)

ELÜK joke, mockery

(OTD s.v.)

Cf. Alt.

**p'эле* to mock; to feel mocked at, be shy, distracted

(including only OT. *elü:k*)

(Starostin et alia 2003, p. 1133)

**āli* to deceive; trick

(including Mo. *alij-a*; MT. *ĀLĪĪ-* to get tired, MTD I, 32; OT. *al* device, method of doing something, Cl. 120; *alta:-* to deceive, trick, cheat, Cl. 133)

(Starostin et alia 2003, pp. 288-9)

Summing up, we may say that some of the stem formations parallel with Altaic are found in North Dravidian (Nos. 11, 30).⁵⁸ Sometimes e.g. Mongolian agrees with Central Dravidian (above No. 16d) or sometimes with South Dravidian (No. 3, Ta. *akkaicci*, Mo. *egeci*; No. 29).⁵⁹

Conclusion

In this paper, I could give but a summary of some of the problems and some of the results with only a few examples. The lists are rather selective and many of them may be parts of broader formal or semantic models overlapping with each other. Besides simple and unequivocal cases of almost item-for-item parallels (e.g. Nos. 1-5, etc.), there are more complex etymological nests, e.g. No. 7ab (to open, gape), No. 16abcd (to burn, hot, etc.), 22abc (cold, cool), 25ab (to rise, jump, high, etc.), 26a + 27a (desire), 26b + 27b (to grieve, lament, etc.). In many cases, the available sets of etyma in Dravidian (DEDR) and occasionally also in Altaic (MTD) have to be rearranged in such a way that the overlapping forms and meanings may be accommodated within more complex models. These models will have to be dealt with in separate studies of the respective etyma. The overall picture of the models seems to indicate that the formal aspects of the respective models have a common typological denominator.

The examples could include only a certain portion of the basic lexical stock and also some abstract concepts (No. 15); many of the examples are

58. Cf. also e.g.

Kur. **kherc-nā** to rub off, scour; Malt. **qerce** to scrape; **qére** to shave (s.v. Ta. **cirai** to shave, cut with a sickle; DEDR 1564)

Mo. **ker-ci-** to cut, mince, slice, carve, to make incisions, notch (cf. Vacek 1981, No. 2.6; 1983, No. 2.21)

59. Further, cf. the following (DEDR 1335 was listed in Vacek 1993, 408):

Ta. **kavil** to be capsized, turned bottom upwards, bow one's head, bend down, etc.
kavuru to capsize; **kamur** to be upside down

Tu. **kapparu** on the face (DEDR 1335; the remaining languages have lost the extension by a liquid)

Mo. **kömüri-** to upset, overturn, capsize
köbüre- to bend, bow down, incline

MT. **KEBILE-** to bend down, press oneself on the ground (Olcha)
keb seme to fall down (Ma.) (MTD I, 442, referring to Mo. **kebte-** to lie down)

Cf. also

FU **kuma** gebeugte, umgestürzte Lage (Rédei I, 201-2)
(var. +**-t-**, **-l-**: Est. **kummuta-** umkehren, ustülpen - ein Gefäß
Syrj. **køma:l-** to turn upside down)

verbs, which seem to play a major role in the comparative material. Only a few terms concerning kinship (Nos. 2,3; further cf. Vacek, Lubsangdorji 1994), parts of the body (No. 1) and the animal world (No. 23) could be included, which all are important in this comparison. Some of them were occasionally mentioned; some were dealt with in separate papers by me (see the bibliography).

As for the interpretation of the material findings, I should not repeat what was said above. I should only like to underline that the ultimate results of this investigation will eventually have to be seen in a broader context of the possible contacts between India and Central Asia any time between 3000 B.C. and 1000 B.C. This will obviously require an interdisciplinary approach, and linguists will have to learn from the results obtained by archaeologists (Vacek 1987a, pp. 144ff.). This idea, which was also supported by K.V. Zvelebil (1991, p. 29), does not imply that linguistic and archaeological methods should be mixed indiscriminately. However, being mutually aware of the results of our disciplines may help us understand and possibly interpret our respective data in a more coherent manner.

On the linguistic side, we should probably stick to the formal material as much as possible and may have to see to it that the heuristics are as exhaustive as possible. Assuming that the formal and semantic agreement of the material is not a result of coincidence, the fact that among quite regular correspondences there is a great variation of forms will certainly have to be accounted for in a rational manner. This also concerns the fact that in some models some forms are not attested and that there are 'holes' in the patterns (which was not so obvious in this brief summary of the 'good' examples). For the time being, I cannot but reiterate what I have suggested earlier, namely that the result of the divergent development (provided that it was so) has been conditioned by multiple interplay within various linguistic areas, primarily in the region of Central Asia and subsequently in India (as far as Dravidian is concerned) or in the marginal regions of Northern Eurasia (from the Volga to the Sakhalin).

The complex nature of these correspondences, the wide 'dispersal' of forms, doublets and multiple parallels, possibly also etymological mergers or overlapping of formally and/or semantically close etyma in some cases - all this presents us with a 'fluid' picture not unlike the 'fuzzy sets' in Mathematics. We should take it at that value and try to develop tools to grasp the various ramifications, the fuzziness of the material, in a sufficiently systematic manner to be able to arrange it structurally including all the variations. One such attempt was made in my monograph on 'water - viscosity -

cold' (Vacek 2002a). In that work, I tried to demonstrate that ultimately there is a discernible system even in a flood of material, which at first sight is not easy to survey. Where this will lead us is, at the moment, not possible to predict. It would of course be ideal if we could publish a preliminary list of all the available parallels but it is not that easy because every single item of a simple list may require comments and references to further parallels, and thus a simple set of parallel words (like Ta. *cemmal* water - Kuwi. *jimbri pīyu* drizzle - Mo. *siber* drizzling rain, cf. Vacek 2002a, p. 19) may grow into a 'thick bundle' of the most varying forms, whose relation would not be recognised if they were viewed as isolated words from two extreme ends of the range of forms without the scale of forms in between. This is a matter of the degree of relationship conditioned by a long and unrecorded (or merely partially recorded) history of the languages, which are candidates for membership in this 'club'. In spite of all the fluidity of the material (both formal and semantic), we can say that there is a coherent picture of parallels and correspondences, which are beyond the threshold of statistical coincidence. Therefore, it is worth dealing with the subject without, however, allowing our results to be conditioned by any preconceived notions (e.g. believing in the existence or non-existence of a linguistic super-family, etc.).

Perhaps, I may be permitted to conclude on a provocative note. Despite the great variation of forms and meanings, the formal similarities between many Dravidian and Altaic parallels (especially Mongolian and Manchu-Tungus) appear to be so close that it is difficult to imagine that the distance between them should be some three to four thousand years (dating to the period prior to the migration of Indo-Aryans to India). Some recent findings in Vedic philology (F.B.J. Kuiper, M. Witzel) show that the Dravidian lexical influence in the older layers of the oldest Vedic text of the Rigveda is very scanty (which would perhaps not be expected if the Dravidian languages were present in India prior to the arrival of Indo-Aryans), and only in the later Rigveda and later, in the Brahmanas, the number of Dravidian borrowings increases. On the other hand, the Rigvedic text seems to be replete with a great number of Munda, or rather Proto-Austro-Asiatic borrowings.⁶⁰ Could this imply that if the Dravidian languages

60. If there was no relation of Dravidian with Altaic, this latter fact, however, could also be interpreted as a signal of the order, in which the Indo-Aryans were exposed to the local linguistic milieu - first to the ancestors of the Mundas or related Austro-Asiatic peoples (to be attested linguistically already in the Rigveda, as shown by Kuiper and Witzel) and only then to the Dravidian influences (in the period of the Brahmanas). For further discussions of related problems, cf. **The Indo-Aryans of Ancient South Asia. Language, material culture and ethnicity** (Eds. A. Wezler & M. Witzel), Walter de Gruyter, Berlin, New York 1995 (especially the contributions of M.M. Deshpande, M. Witzel, W.A. Fairsevis Jr. and F.C. Southworth). Most recently, cf. also F.C. Southworth:

were brought to India from Central Asia (a working hypothesis), this may have happened after the migration of the Indo-Aryans was completed? This would also explain why some migrations went directly southwards along the western coast.⁶¹ But such a possibility would mean a rather great 'revolution' in the picture of the prehistory of ancient India.⁶² However, we have to underline that this is nothing but a hypothetical alternative, and we have to wait for more circumstantial evidence to appear in future.

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Non-Indo-Aryan elements in Marathi: Implications for the early history of the Deccan, at the 6th Harvard Round Table on the Ethnogenesis of South and Central Asia, May 2004, http://www.people.fas.harvard.edu/%7Ewitzel/RT_2004_a.htm and in a forthcoming book on the linguistic prehistory of South Asia (I owe this last reference to Prof. M. Witzel).

61. Let me note that in 1974 (J. Vacek, Three Publications on the Protoindian Civilization. *Archív Orientální* 42, 1974, 245-52), I was already considering the possibility that the Mundas' presence in the Vedic period was greater than generally thought (ibid. p. 248). At that time, however, I hypothesised (ibid. pp. 248ff.) that the possible Dravidian 'arrivals' to India (on the basis of the view that Dravidian had relations with Uralic; e.g. T. Burrow, M.S. Andronov) could be identified with some early waves of arrivals from the West, as they were depicted by Bridget and Raymond Allchin (*The Birth of Indian Civilization. India and Pakistan before 500 B.C.* Penguin Books, 1965).

62. In an e-mail communication from June 19 and July 4, 2004 concerning this subject, Prof. Witzel made several suggestions on the concluding remarks of this paper, which I acknowledge with gratitude. Among other things, he wrote: **It seems to me that the ratio between Dravidian and Munda in the Rigveda as compared with the later Brahmana texts could hypothetically have some consequences for the temporal sequences of migrations to India in prehistory - a hypothesis of course, but perhaps mentionable in the margin as a possibility in the search of a new "paradigm".**

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V.I. Subramoniam (Ed.), 1993, HB, Demy 1/4, pp. xvi+842+viii+lx, Rs. 900/- (US\$ 200/-)

A monumental volume on Dravidian people and culture, it has a compendium of new information. It contains 987 entries with maps, line drawings and photographs, 36 tables and 60 pages of index.

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V.I. Subramoniam (Ed.), 1997, HB, Demy 1/4, pp. viii+864+xlvi, Rs. 1340/- (US\$ 200/-)

A compact compilation, this volume as a reference work covers all aspects of Dravidian languages. The tribal languages of the Dravidian family are described with their grammatical features. The five major languages - Tamil, Telugu, Kannada, Malayalam and Tulu - too have their descriptive grammars. Articles on literature are elaborate. Short pen pictures of important authors and their contributions are also available. A comprehensive index of 47 pages provides easy access to information.

ROLE OF SSP IN SYLLABIFICATION OF WORDS IN ORIYA

RANJAN KUMAR DAS
Balasore, Orissa

1. Introduction

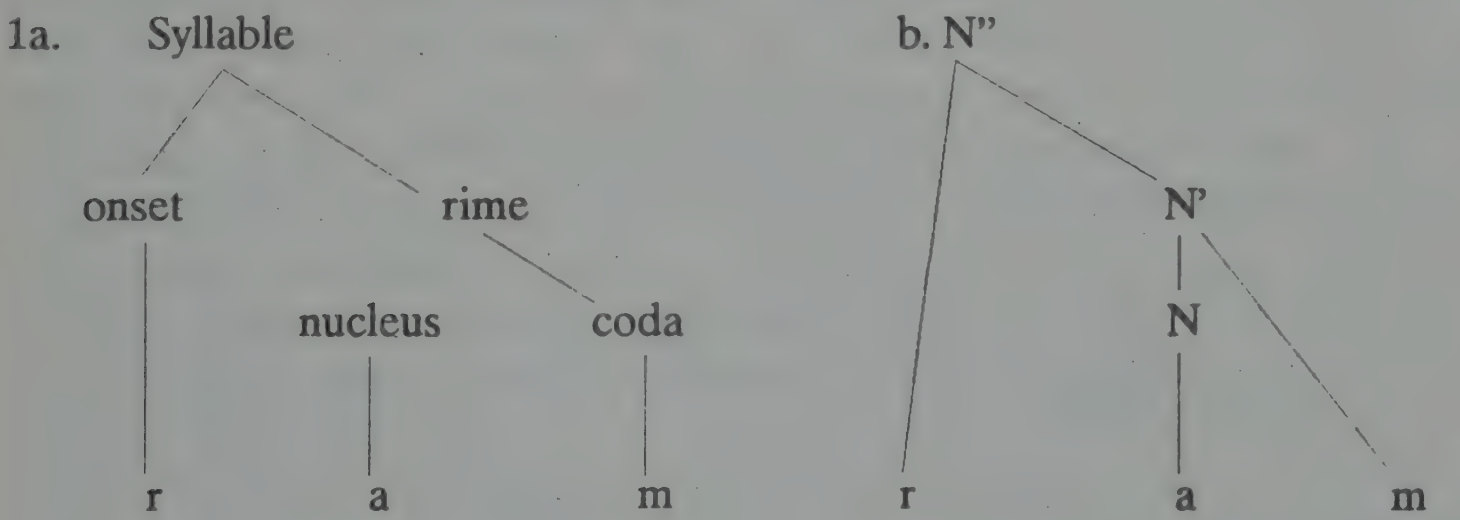
Syllable, as a unit of phonological analysis, has received inadequate treatment by Oriya grammarians. Often it has been ignored. Instead the focus has been on consonant clusters. Further, whenever a little interest has been shown and some attempts have been made to study syllable structure, the result raises even more questions than the answers provided. In some attempts like Mohanty (1998), the syllabification presented is not acceptable. This is partly due to lack of conceptual clarity and partly due to the bias induced by the orthography of the language itself. For instance, in Oriya orthography (which is in some respects syllabic but in other respects a hotchpotch of different but incompatible approaches), there are some special symbols / characters for consonant clusters like *rg*, *nd*, etc. and these mislead the scholar to consider them as belonging to onsets of syllable. This type of error occurs mainly with word-medial consonant clusters. The present paper, through an extensive study, attempts to formulate the principles of syllabification of Oriya language. It shows how Sonority Sequencing Principle (SSP) plays a dominant role in this regard. For notional clarity, some theoretical discussions have been incorporated, especially in earlier sections.

1.1 Since a large number of writing systems are syllabic systems, it appears that syllables in a language are intuitively recognizable units. However, it has not been easy to define a syllable and to explain how it is produced and perceived. In terms of the pulmonic air-stream mechanism, a syllable is the minimum utterance / sound segment(s) produced during a single chest-pulse (Abercrombie, 1967: 35, 73). However, it is not a sound either. It represents a group of sounds, although it lacks any uniform or direct phonetic correlate. It is only a unit of phonological organization. Selkirk (1982: 338) defines a syllable as "an element of hierarchically organized prosodic structure". As an abstract unit of prosodic organization, it is based on the fact

that sounds are organized into syllables at a certain level of abstraction. Furthermore, the exact shape of the syllable varies from one language to another.

In early generative phonology till SPE, the role of syllable in phonological representation used to be ignored. However, the recent developments consider it as an important concept for understanding the phonological structure of a language. The main motivation for developing an explicit theory of syllable is that the phonological representation is not composed of a single linear sequence of entities, but of several fully constrained parallel sequences of entities. Kenstowicz (1994: 250) mentions three kinds of justification offered for the syllable. "First, the syllable is a natural domain for the statement of many phonotactic constraints. Second, phonological rules are often more simple and insightfully expressed if they explicitly refer to the syllable. Finally, several phonological processes are best interpreted as methods to ensure that the string of phonological segments is parsable into syllables".

1.2 Internal structure of a syllable may be presented as in (1a) and (1b), following Levin (1985), illustrating the syllabification of the word *ram* - a proper name.



2.1 Clusters and Syllabification

In most languages, the syllabification assigned to a string of phonemes is predictable from the consonantal and vocalic status of the segments. Vocalic segments occupy the nuclei and the consonants the margins. Some sort of universal rule (a part of UG), subject to parametric variation, applies in most of the languages, which assigns a prevocalic consonant to onset position and adds a single unincorporated consonant to coda. The general tendency is to avoid onset-less syllable. In consequence, the syllabification of a VCV string is made as [V.CV], with the single intervocalic

consonant onsetting the second syllable rather than closing the first. However, there may be some language-particular rules to create unusual syllabification like [VC.V].

In Oriya, words are simply the phoneme sequences with no contrastive role of suprasegmentals like tone and stress. Phoneme sequence may comprise of some clusters of consonants at word initial, medial and final positions. Word initial and final clusters pose no problem for syllabification as they invariably form units of onset and coda respectively. However, it appears that the medial clusters most often do not form units in the sense that the clusters are not pronounced together. If there is a cluster $C_1C_2C_3$ at word medial position, the maximum number of consonants (i.e. C_2C_3) are syllabified with the following nucleus (vowel) and the one left (i.e. C_1) with the preceding nucleus, in actual pronunciation. Therefore, a VCCCV string should be syllabified as [VC.CCV], and a VCCV string as either [V.CCV] or [VC.CV] strictly following the rule of onset and coda formation. The onset formation rule is ordered before coda rule. Further, the word final (coda) cluster is highly restricted in Oriya - the number of occurrences being very low and mostly confined to words borrowed from Sanskrit, English, Persian etc. This is discussed in sections (3) and (4). However, the best way to study the nature of clusters is to study the syllable inventory of language.

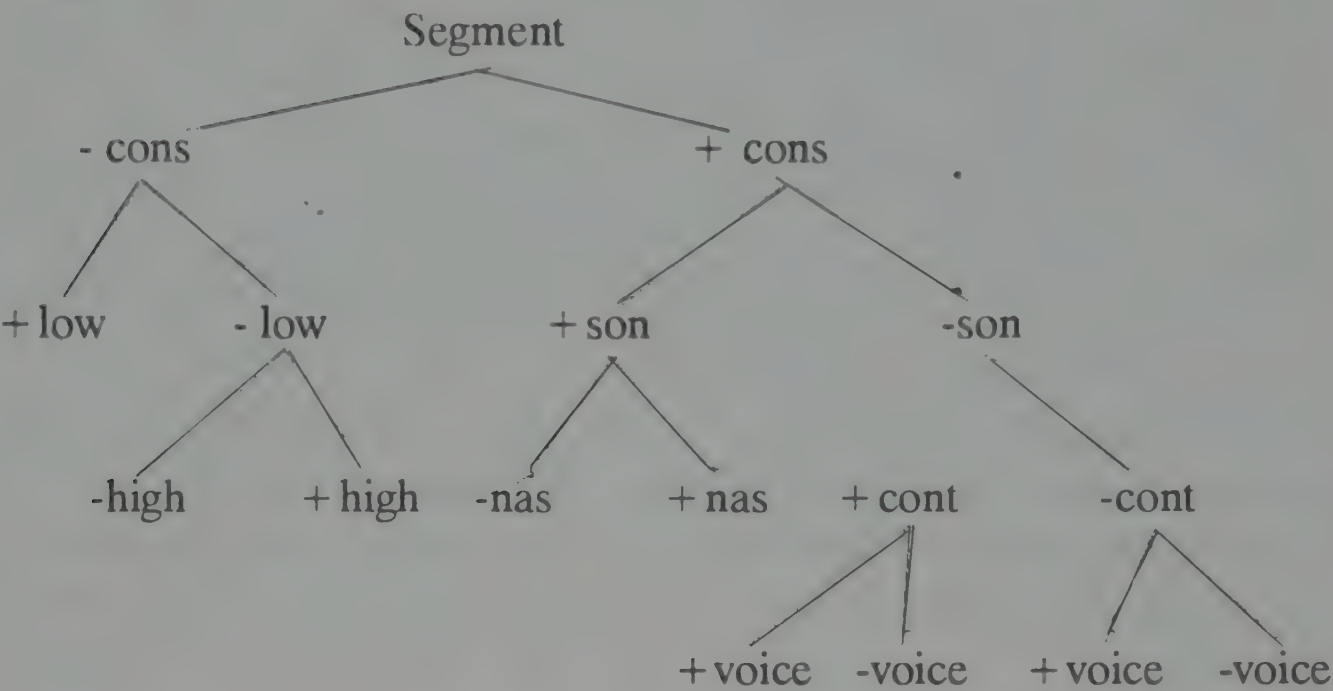
2.1 One of the most primitive (core) syllable inventories is V, CV, VC, CVC. Oriya like many other languages has developed a complex syllable inventory by augmenting the core one. This is a highly constrained process that incorporates additional consonantal elements into the onsets and/or coda of core syllables. Oriya prefers onset augmentation making a maximal syllable structure as $(C)(C)(C) V (C)(C)$.

The creation of complex onsets and codas are guided by *Sonority Sequencing Principle*. SSP requires onsets to rise in sonority toward the nucleus and codas to fall in sonority from the nucleus. In other words, the sonority of the syllable peaks at the nucleus and descends towards the margins. Thus, if a $C_wC_xVC_yC_z$ string has been syllabified by incorporating C_x into the onset and C_y into the coda, then C_w may be added to the onset only if it is less sonorous than C_x , and C_z may be added to the coda only if it is less sonorous than C_y .

The property of sonority, then, is an important notion here. Grossly, it can be correlated with the *relative prominence* or *loudness* of a segment in

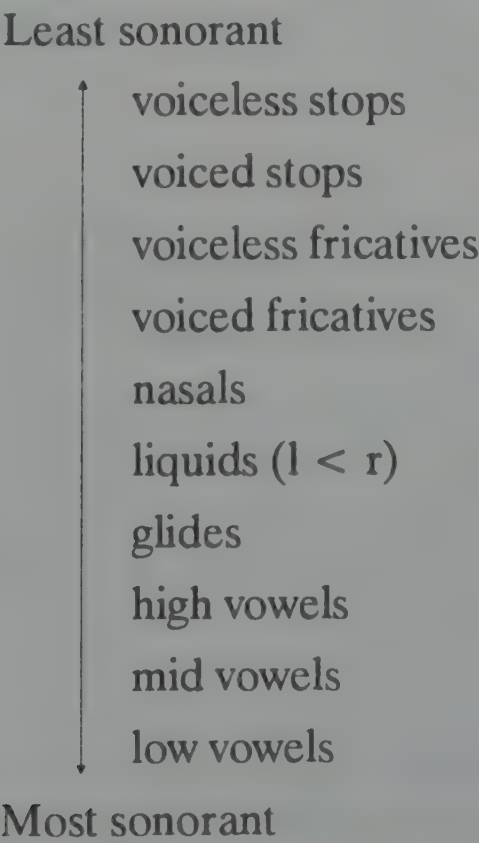
comparison to other segments, when the length, stress, pitch, velocity of air flow, muscular tension, etc. remain constant (Ladefoged, 1986). A more sonorous sound is heard louder. It is agreed upon that the vowels are most sonorous and the obstruents the least. A sonority hierarchy scale showing the relative sonority of speech sounds may be shown as in tree (2a) [Blevins, 1996: 211]. Here, the left branch of the tree is more sonorous than the right branch.

2a.



The same scale may be presented in a tabular form as in (2b).

2b. Sonority hierarchy scale



Thus, the sonority hierarchy among non-nuclear segments is obstruents (O), nasals (N), liquids (L) and glides (G) in increasing order. Then the possible combination for onset clusters would be (maximally):

- O + (G, L, N)
- N + (G, L)
- L + (G)

And the maximal coda clusters:

- G + (O, N, L)
- L + (O, N)
- N + (O)

3.1 Phonemic Inventory of Oriya may be shown as follows:

Vowels

	Front	Centre	Back
high	i		u
mid	e		o
lower mid			
low		a	

Consonants

	Labial		Dental/ Alveolar		Retroflex		Palatal		Velar		Glottal	
	vl	vd	vl	vd	vl	vd	vl	vd	vl	vd	vl	vd
Stops <i>unasp</i>	p	b	t	d	ɖ	ɗ	ç	ʝ	k	g		
	p ^h	b ^h	t ^h	d ^h	ɖ ^h	ɗ ^h	ç ^h	ʝ ^h	k ^h	g ^h		
Fricatives			s								h	
Nasals		m		n		ɳ				ŋ		
Laterals				l		ɭ						
Trills				r								
Glides		w						y				

[illegible]

3b.

	w	y	r	l/l
p	x	<i>pyari</i> 'a name'	<i>pranɔ</i> 'life'	<i>pliha</i> 'spleen'
p ^h	x	x	<i>p^hrem</i> 'frame'	x
b	x	<i>byɔt^ha</i> 'pain'	<i>brɔtɔ</i> 'ritual'	x
b ^h	x	<i>sɔb^hyɔ</i> 'civilized'	<i>b^hrɔmɔ</i> 'error'	*
t	<i>twɔca</i> 'skin'	<i>tyagɔ</i> 'sacrifice'	<i>trɔyɔ</i> 'three'	x
t ^h	x	x	x	x
d	<i>dwara</i> 'by'	<i>badyɔ</i> 'music'	<i>drumɔ</i> 'tree'	x
d ^h	<i>d^hwɔni</i> 'sound'	<i>d^hyanɔ</i> 'attention'	<i>d^hrubɔ</i> 'a name'	x
ɖ	x	<i>natyɔ</i> 'dancing'	<i>trɔk</i> 'truck'	x
ɖ ^h	x	<i>pat^hyɔ</i> 'study worth reading'	x	x
ɗ	x	x	<i>drɔm</i> 'drum'	x
ɗ ^h	x	<i>dad^hyɔta</i> 'scriptural name'	x	x
c	x	<i>cyɔbɔn</i> 'a name'	x	x
c ^h	<i>uc^hwasɔ</i> 'swelling'	x	x	x

j	jwɔlɔntɔ	jyamiti	bɔjrɔ	*
	'burning'	'geometry'	'thunder'	
j ^h	x	x	x	x
k	kwɔcit	baky	krɔmɔ	klibɔ
	'rarely'	'sentence'	'series'	'neuter'
k ^h	x	pɔk ^h yɔ	k ^h ristɔ	x
		'half of a month'	'Christ'	
g	x	b ^h agyɔ	gruhɔ	Głani
		'fate'	'house'	'guilt'
g ^h	x	x	g ^h nutɔ	x
			'ghee'	
h	x	bahyɔ	hrudɔyɔ	x
		'external'	'heart'	
n	ɔnwɔy	nyayɔ	nrutyɔ	x
	'lineage'	'justice'	'dance'	
m	x	rɔmyɔ	mrutyu	mlanɔ
		'beautiful'	'death'	'pale'
s	swad ^h inɔ	syamɔ	srɔmɔ	słokɔ
	'freedom'	'a name'	'labour'	'scriptural verse'
	smitɔ	snanɔ	spɔrsɔ	sp ^h ɔtikɔ
	'smiling'	'bath'	'touch'	'crystal'
	st ^h anɔ	stesɔn	skul	sk ^h ɔlɔn
	'place'	'station'	'school'	'fall'

In the above presentation in table (3a), the plus (+) sign represents the actual presence of the concerned cluster and the minus (-) sign is used for not-permissible combinations, which the native speakers of Oriya normally do not or at least prefer not to pronounce. However, the exclamatory (!) sign represents the combination that is psychologically possible (some are practically produced by only a few native speakers while using words of foreign language in their speech) but not actually found in Oriya. Examples

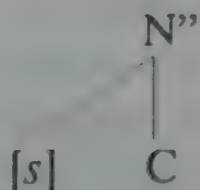
cited in (3b) are so chosen that they contain the concerned onset cluster, preferably at word initial position (i.e. in the first syllable).

The following generalizations may be drawn from table (3a).

- The pluses appear under the columns headed by more sonorous glides and liquids and in rows headed by less sonorous obstruents and nasals; [s] is a case of exception. This implies that these onsets conform to SSP.
- Stop-nasal and stop-stop onset cluster is systematically excluded in the language.
- Adjacent consonants in the onset tend to be chosen from opposite regions of sonority. For instance, obstruent-trill cluster like [pr] is preferred to an obstruent-lateral [pl], which in turn is preferred to an obstruent-nasal cluster. Thus, it may be inferred that the maximum difference in sonority value between the concatenating consonants is preferred - this may be considered as a universal principle.
- Labial-obstruent and labial-glide combination like [pw] seem to be systematically excluded, so do the coronal-stops plus coronal-[l] cluster. This impresses upon us to infer that the concatenation of consonants with the same point of articulation is disfavoured, may be for articulatory convenience and perceptual clarity. However, the presence of coronal stop plus [r] and clusters like [cy] and [jy] violate this generalization. Hence, we may take the stand of formulating the rules to constrain the disfavoured [l] and [w] clusters above. Possibly, the *manner* feature plays an important or decisive role here.
- Palatal affricates do not share the onset with liquids, nor with [s].

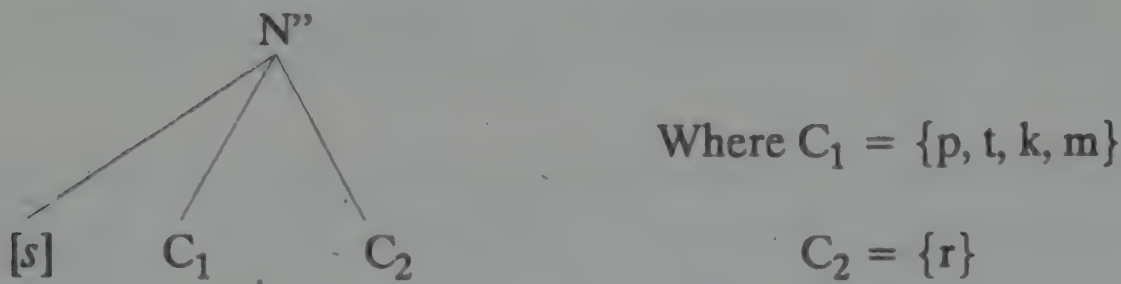
Now, let us consider the anomalous behaviour of [s] in onset cluster of Oriya. It seems to violate all the above generalizations like SSP and obstruent-obstruent and obstruent-nasal constraints. The onsets like [sp, st, sk] show the reverse order of sonority hierarchy principle. Voiced plosives never share onset with [s]. We can account for this problem if we consider [s] as extra-syllabic, following Clemants & Keyser (1983), on the ground that a syllable node cannot govern it. Thus, we may postulate a special rule (4), which is language-particular, adding [s] to the onset.

4.



This extra-syllabic segment essentially occurs at the beginning of the syllable and remains unsyllabified. However, in low variety Oriya speech, it is syllabified by vowel epenthesis like [skul] → [is.kul] ‘school’. Rule (4) is further supported by the fact that it automatically generates, although severely constrained, the three-member onsets of Oriya, as in 5, of which [s] is essentially the first constituent.

5.



We can verify rule (5) with the table in (6).

6. Oriya Onsets: three-consonant clusters

	w	y	r	l		
*sp	-	-	+	-	<i>spruha</i>	‘desire’
st	-	-	+	-	<i>stri</i>	‘woman’
sk	-	-	-	-	<i>skru</i>	‘screw’
sp ^h /t ^h /k ^h	-	-	-	-		
sm	-	-	+	-	<i>smruti</i>	‘memory’
sn	-	-	-	-		

To summarize, we have seen that syllable onsets in Oriya are governed largely by the UG SSP along with some language-particular rules like (4) and (5).

4. Codas of Oriya

Theoretically, coda structure can be of four types - ϕ , C, CC and CCC. SSP offers the maximal possibility of G + (L, N, O), L + (N, O) and N + (O) sequence. However, in Oriya, since the process of onset augmentation is the preferred one, the coda structure shows a rather poor picture. Moreover, words ending in consonants are extremely rare in this language. Of them, second person singular (familiar) imperative form of some verbs

make the majority. Substantives and particles share only a minute participation. Still, to get a clear picture, we may study the occurrence of consonants - single and C_1C_2 cluster as coda at two places, viz. in word final and word medial positions. Following observations may be made regarding coda structure in Oriya:

- All consonants except glide [w] can occur as single consonant coda.
- Coda at the medial position of word is much more frequent. Last syllable of words are mostly coda-less. Media codas are never C_1C_2 .
- When C_1C_2 coda occurs, generally it is the sequence of a homorganic nasal + stop as shown in (7). Incidentally, two other members of the group are [nh] and [rj], but always C_1 is a sonorant, and C_1 is more sonorous than C_2 .

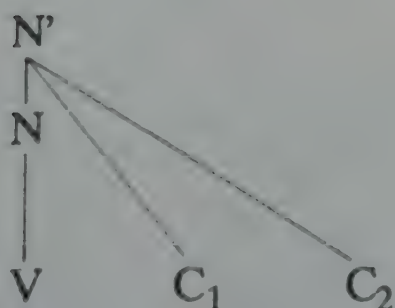
7.

<i>ramp</i>	'scratch-imperative'
<i>kand</i>	'cry-imp'
<i>bant</i>	'distribute-imp'
<i>janc</i>	'investigate-imp'
<i>sun^hg</i>	'smell-imp'
<i>cin^h</i>	'recognise-imp'
<i>gɔrj</i>	'roar-imp'

- More than one sonorant cannot be incorporated into the coda.
- Clusters like [-sk] and [-kt] can occur only in some borrowed words from English: e.g. *desk* 'desk', *akt* 'act', the use of which in Oriya is so rare that they do not warrant any consideration.
- Maximally, two consonants are allowed in a coda; VCCC is excluded in the language.

The generalization that can be made at this point is that codas in Oriya perfectly conform to the SSP. A general structure of C_1C_2 coda may be presented as in (8).

8.



Where $C_1 = \{N, r\}$
 $C_2 = \{\text{plosives, fricatives}\}$

5. Syllabification of word-internal clusters

In Oriya, four types of inter-nuclear situation can arise - VV, VCV, VCCV and VCCCV - as in the examples *sue* '(I) sleep', *kəŋa* 'hole', *ɔrthɔ* 'meaning' and *jɔntrɔ* 'machine'. In case of VCV, the consonant necessarily onsets the following vowel, i.e. V.CV. However, VCCV poses a problem in parsing. Three possibilities arise here - V.CCV, VC.CV and VCC.V - of which the last one is excluded outright. The governing factor here is SSP, which controls the word-internal syllabification in a stricter way. Another factor is that Oriya, like many other Indo-European languages, has a preference for maximal onsets. So, given a VC_xC_yV string, if C_x can form a *legitimate onset* with C_y, then the string will syllabify as V.C_xC_yV string. For example, the favoured syllabification of *ɔklesɔ* 'with ease' is *ɔ.kle.sɔ* with an obstruent + sonorant string, not *[*ɔk.le.sɔ*]. In *pɔrbɔtɔ* 'mountain', however, it is *pɔr.bɔ.tɔ*, never *[*pɔ.rbɔ.tɔ*] since a sonorant + obstruent string can never be incorporated into the onset.

Now, consider the paradigm in (9) for testing the intuition of native speakers regarding the syllabification of a VC_xC_yV sequence.

9.

VC _x C _y V		V.C _x C _y V	VC _x .C _y V
<i>pɔkwɔ</i>	'ripe'	✓	x
<i>sɔb^hyɔ</i>	'civilized'	✓	x
<i>ɔswɔ</i>	'horse'	✓	x
<i>drusyɔ</i>	'scene'	✓	x
<i>ɔnwɔyɔ</i>	'lineage'	✓	x
<i>sɔnyasi</i>	'hermit'	✓	x
<i>gramyɔ</i>	'rural'	✓	x
<i>b^hɔdrɔ</i>	'gentle'	✓	x
<i>akrosɔ</i>	'malice'	✓	x
<i>ɔpriyɔ</i>	'unpleasant'	✓	x
<i>ɔklesɔ</i>	'ease'	✓	x
<i>asrɔya</i>	'shelter'	✓	? ✓
<i>aslesɔ</i>	'embrace'	✓	?
<i>ɔmrutɔ</i>	'nectar'	?	✓
<i>sɔmratɔ</i>	'emperor'	?	✓
<i>amlet</i>	'omelette'	x	✓

A closer look at the paradigm (9) reveals that whenever C_y is a glide, $C_x C_y$ invariably forms onset; so do the stop plus liquid sequence. These sequences form the most legitimate onsets in the language. They can also occur at word-initial position, but the judgement concerning 'N + L' and '[s] + L or N or stop' sequence is confusing (marked by '?') and sometimes alternative syllabification is possible. Although these sequences occur mostly in Sanskritic or *tatsama* words, the pronunciation in Oriya is such that C_x forms the coda of the preceding vowel and C_y as the onset of the following vowel, even if they agree with SSP for onset formation. This may be considered as one of the distinctions of Oriya phonology from that of Sanskrit.

Finally, a look at the $VC_w C_x C_y V$ sequence confirms the syllabification as $VC_w.C_x C_y V$ in conformity to SSP. For example, $c \text{ } \text{ndr}$ 'moon' syllabifies as $c \text{ } \text{n.dr}$ and $\text{ } \text{spru}$ 'untouchable' as $\text{ } \text{s.pru.sy}$, but not as $*[c \text{ } \text{ndr}]$ and $*[\text{ } \text{spru.sy}]$.

6. Conclusion

SSP serves as the major constraint for onset and coda formation in Oriya. Exceptional cases like [sp, st, sk] can be accounted for by assigning extra-syllabic status to [s]. Consonant clusters at inter-vocalic position are syllabified in accordance with SSP and with a preference for maximal onsets. However, the combinations with least sonority difference like 'N + L', 's + L', etc. show alternate possibility of $VC_x.C_y V$. The concatenating consonants in an onset or coda node are so chosen that the difference of sonority between them is maximum. The motivation behind this, most likely, is to achieve articulatory convenience and perceptual distinctiveness.

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READING ACQUISITION IN DRAVIDIAN LANGUAGES

PREMA K.S.
A.I.I.S.H, Mysore

Abstract

Relationship between language and reading has been documented for long. Therefore, the ability to perform certain linguistic operations that make use of information about the speech sound structure of a language has been investigated in normal as well as poor readers. Majority of these studies have been carried out in alphabetic languages with the focus of linguistic operation being set on the phonological domain. Consequently, a variety of phonological processing deficits have been located as the source of difficulty for poor readers. This paper attempts to discuss the applicability of certain theoretical notions underlying the script specific features of alphabetic languages such as those of English as against Kannada, Tamil and Malayalam - the three south Indian Dravidian languages that have semi-syllabic script. The evidences for the same have been drawn from author's research work.

Investigation of reading acquisition in children has been in the interest of many disciplines. Literature on reading processes has reports documented by Educators and Special educators, Clinical and Cognitive Psychologists, Linguists and Speech-Language Pathologists to mention a few. The interest and the interaction of various disciplines in reading process are suggestive of the fact that reading is a complex phenomenon and that it involves multiple processes among which linguistic process - phonological awareness, in particular - has been extensively investigated (Bradley and Bryant, 1983; Morais, et.al., 1986; Bryant and Goswami, 1987; Ehri, 1989; Trieman, 1991; Prakash et.al., 1993; Prema, 1997).

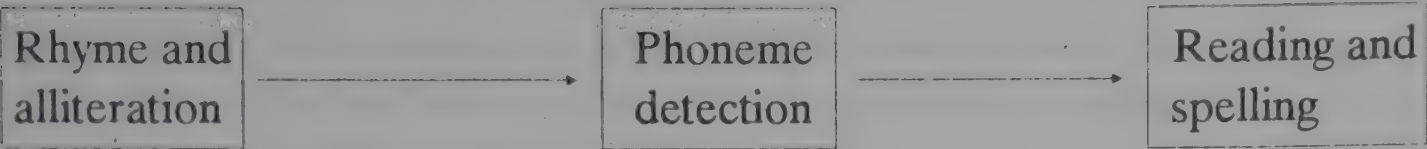
Earlier decades have witnessed studies on phonological awareness as related to reading acquisition that have been conducted on children learning to read and write English. Consequently, theories and models of reading have been framed and proposed for acquisition of reading with a notion

that they would hold true for other language learners too. However, with extensive studies on non-English speaking children (Hatano, 1986), a serious debate was raised regarding the applicability of the above as a universal phenomenon in reading. Arguments about the influence of language structure on reading process led to investigations of various linguistic skills including phonological awareness skills in relation to reading acquisition. In the course of investigation, researchers arrived at a consensus that not only the structure of the language but the nature of the script being learnt has greater influence on reading acquisition process (Hatano, 1986; Morais et.al., 1986; Prakash et.al., 1993; Rekha, 1996; Prema, 1997). As a result, universality in the process of reading acquisition is questioned.

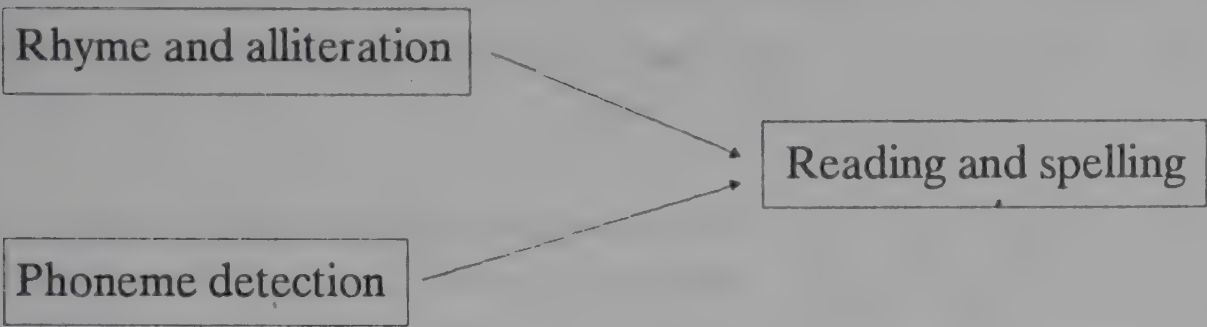
A large number of studies are documented in the literature on the crucial factor of phonological awareness, which is defined as the conscious representation of the phonological properties and constraints of speech. It is assigned a major role in reading acquisition as the ability to reflect upon and make judgments about the discrete phonological properties of words (Bradley and Bryant, 1983) that are essential for reading. Consequently, research designed to study rhyming and alliteration, syllable and phoneme analysis, synthesis, deletion and identification of oddity have been widely documented. These studies on children learning to read English treat phonological awareness as a precursor to, consequence of, and / or necessary but not a sufficient condition for learning to read. Alternatively, studies (Morais et.al., 1979) on children learning to read non-alphabetic languages adopted an 'interactive' hypothesis. They argue that experience in learning to read makes children aware of phonemes and that awareness helps them to make further progress in reading. The relevance of rhyming skill to reading is also questioned as rhymes include phonological units that are global and not as precise as phonemes. A general opinion is that the only kind of phonological skill worth considering is phoneme detection. The debate remains, however, unsolved as yet.

Bryant (1990) proposed models to illustrate three types of relationship between phonological awareness and reading. In the indirect route model (Model - I), rhyme and alliteration skills are presumed to facilitate phoneme detection skills, which in turn helps in reading and spelling. In the direct route model (Model - II), rhyme & alliteration and phoneme detection skills are independent and therefore individually influence reading and spelling. Model III suggests that there is no relationship between rhyme and alliteration and that reading leads to phoneme detection.

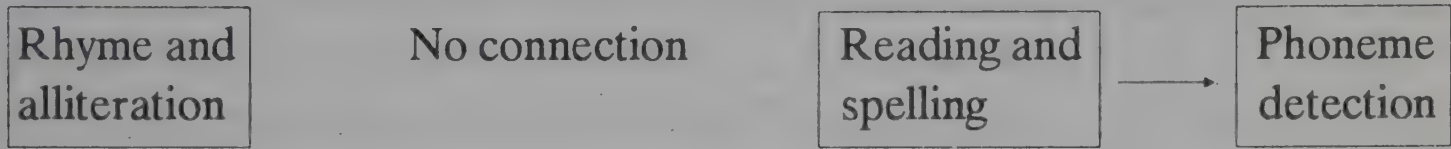
Model - I: Indirect route from rhyme to reading



Model - II: Direct route from rhyme to reading



Model - III: Reading leads to phoneme detection



Studies on developmental sequence of phonological awareness in children learning to read English suggest that rhyming and alliteration are the foremost skills to develop followed by awareness to syllables and phonemes. However, studies in non-alphabetic languages are not consistent with the above findings. Alternately, these studies emphasize the role of orthography (script specific features) in the development of various phonological skills (Prakash et.al., 1993; Rekha, 1996; Prema, 1997).

Orthography is a graphic representation of language. The type of orthographic systems adopted for different languages in general are classified under ideography, syllabary and alphabetic systems. Coltheart (1984) provides a psycholinguistic analysis of these systems that provides insight into the processes of reading the above scripts. While an ideographic script reader need not segment the print at the phonemic level, an alphabetic script reader is required to abstract information at the phonemic level and a syllabic script reader learns to abstract information at the level of syllable units, which is considered as cognitively easier in comparison to the other two processes.

While the nature of orthography is one major dimension of study, another focus is the factor of "orthographic depth" (Katz and Feldman, 1981) i.e., transparency of letter to phonology correspondence. An orthography that represents its phonology unequivocally following grapheme-phoneme

simple correspondence is considered shallow, while in a deep orthography the relation of orthography to phonology is more opaque. The Orthographic Depth Hypothesis (ODH) suggests that shallow orthographies can easily support a word recognition process that involves the printed word's phonology. In contrast, deep orthographies encourage readers to process printed words by referring to their morphology via the printed word's visual-orthographic structure, and the word's phonology is retrieved from the mental lexicon because the relation between the printed word and its phonology are more opaque (Frost, 1993).

The relationship between orthography and phonological awareness that are considered as crucial for reading acquisition has been investigated in non-alphabetic scripts (Morais et. al., 1979; Hatano 1986; Karanth & Prakash, 1996). Phonological awareness which is considered as a reliable indicator of reading achievement in alphabetic orthography (deep orthography) was not found to be so crucial for shallow orthography such as syllabary (Rekha, 1996; Prema, 1997). Although it is generally agreed that the relation between spelling and phonology in different orthographies might affect reading acquisition to a certain extent, there is disagreement as to the relative importance of this factor. The psychological reality of orthographic depth is not unanimously accepted. Studies on reading acquisition in non-alphabetic orthographies raise the issue of generality of the findings of alphabetic orthographies. This paper attempts to consolidate evidences for reading acquisition in three Dravidian languages with shallow orthographic structure and non-alphabetic script. The relationship between phonological awareness and orthographic structure is discussed.

Dravidian languages

Most of the languages belonging to Dravidian family are spoken in India and parts of Sri Lanka. Dravidian languages are divided into 4 major branches:

South Dravidian (Tamil, Malayalam, Kannada, Tulu, Toda and Kota ...)

South-Central Dravidian (Telugu, Kui, Gondi ...)

Central Dravidian (Kolami, Naiki, Parji ...)

North Dravidian (Kurukh, Malto and Brahui)

The Indian orthography derived from Brahmi is said to be semi-syllabic in nature with a transparent (shallow) orthography. It does not strictly

fall into any of the classification, rather represents a mixture of syllabic and alphabetic principles. The letters are expressed in syllabic units wherein each syllable form can be analysed into its consonant and vowel components. One of the more unusual typological features of Dravidian is the presence of a three-way phonological contrast: dental consonants vs. alveolar consonants vs. retroflex consonants.

Description of Kannada, Tamil and Malayalam scripts

Kannada, one of the major Dravidian languages has an orthographic structure comparable to other Indian scripts. It has 50 basic letter symbols, which are arranged in phonetic manner like other Indian scripts (Puru-shothama, Jagadish and Kumar, 1986; Frakash and Joshi, 1994). The consonants have an independent graphemic form and the associated vowels are attached onto the consonants in their secondary forms (diacritics). Vowels are fused with the consonant to form the syllabic letter. Hence, for a Kannada script reader, it is easy to visualise consonants but it is not so for the associated vowel in their secondary form. The script has a high grapho-phoneme correspondence resulting in the absence of irregular spellings excepting *arka* and *anuswara*, which function as phonemes with independent graphemic status. Also, because homonyms in Kannada are both homophones and homographs, homophone-homograph dissociation does not exist. Hence, it is called 'alphabetic syllabary' or 'syllabi-alphabetic'. This system has special features of syllabic and alphabetic scripts with specific diacritic marks to denote phoneme changes and the presence of distinct graphemes to represent the allomorphs (Appendix - I).

Tamil is also derived from the Brahmi script and is written in an alpha-syllabic form like other South Asian languages. Vowels have two forms - one used at the beginning of a word, another following consonant symbols. The major modifications in case of Tamil are that it has done away with the three letters representing the sonant and aspirant sounds of each of the 5 letter sets of consonants. Thus, it has only /ka/ to represent /ka/, /kha/, /ga/ and /gha/ and so on, with the exception that a letter has lately been developed for /ja/ sound. This has greatly reduced the number of letters in Tamil alphabet though at the same time has complicated the task of pronunciation. Tamil has an additional guttural /zha/ not found in other south Indian languages. Tamil script does not have separate representations/symbols for voiced stops, voiceless aspirated and voiced aspirated stops and no representation/symbols for fricatives other than glottal and voiceless

alveolar retroflex and dental sibilants, which are also borrowed from another script used for writing of Sanskrit words (Appendix - II).

Malayalam, which is another major Dravidian language, spoken in the state of Kerala differs in the way in which alphabetic scripts are put down i.e., where graphemes represent language at the basic sound level. This is a syllabic alphabet in which all consonants have an inherent vowel. Diacritics, which can appear above, below, before or after the consonant they belong to, are used to change the inherent vowel. When they appear at the beginning of a syllable, vowels are written as independent letters. The consonants have an independent graphemic form and the associated vowels are not attached onto the consonants in their secondary form (vowels are not fused with the consonant to form the syllabic letter) but they have an independent grapheme form. However, when certain consonants occur together, special conjunct symbols are used which combine the essential parts of each letter. Therefore, for a Malayalam reader it is easy to visualize both the consonant and associated vowels in their secondary forms in an utterance and hence Malayalam may be treated as a phonemic script (Appendix - III).

Although the three Dravidian languages are treated as one composite group based on their origin and the linguistic structure, the peculiarities in scripts present an interesting dimension to inquire into the phonological skills in relation to the nature of the subtle differences in the orthographic depth. The findings of such an inquiry in Dravidian languages facilitates our understanding of the processes in reading acquisition, the knowledge of which would have implications in our clinical practice.

Summary of four studies in Dravidian languages

In order to examine the relationship between phonological awareness and orthographic structure in Dravidian languages, four studies on reading acquisition in Kannada (Prema, 1997), Tamil (Akila and Prema, 2000) and two in Malayalam (Swaroop and Prema, 2001; Seetha and Prema, 2002) are reviewed.

The studies were conducted on children who are native speakers of the particular language (Kannada, Tamil, Malayalam). Tests for phonological awareness were common across the four groups. An additional test, SHWA, was also done to test for sensitivity for orthographic principles for

the school going children. (See Prema and Karanth, 2003 for more details of tests and scoring procedures). Table 1 gives the details of subjects and tests.

Table - 1
Particulars of subjects and tests¹

Languages	Kannada	Tamil	Malayalam	
Author	Prema, 1997	Akila & Prema, 2000	Swaroop & Prema, 2001	Seetha & Prema 2002
Subjects	150 Children Grade - III to VII, 30 in each grade M = 15; F = 15	40 children Grade III & IV; 20 in each grade, M = 10; F = 10	24 children 36 months to 60 months	40 children Grade V & VII; 20 in each grade M = 10; F = 10
Tests				
Phonological awareness tasks	Rhyming skills; Syllable skills; Phoneme skills	Rhyming skills; Syllable skills; Phoneme skills	Rhyming & alliteration	Rhyming skills; Syllable skills; Phoneme skills
SHWA test for sensitivity to orthographic principles	2 phonemes and 4 vowels	2 phonemes and 4 vowels	-	2 phonemes and 4 vowels

Results and Discussion

All the four studies in Dravidian languages (one in Kannada, one in Tamil and two in Malayalam) were conducted with the objective of investigating reading acquisition in children. Since all the four studies employed similar framework with nearly uniform test stimuli specific to each of the languages, the results of the studies are compared and presented in Table 2. The results are discussed with reference to the reading acquisition process in Dravidian languages.

1. Examples of stimulus items for each of the tests are illustrated in Appendix - IV.

Table 2

Comparison of reading acquisition across three Dravidian languages

Prema, 1997, Kannada	Akila & Prema, 2000, Tamil	Swaroop & Prema, 2001, Malayalam	Seetha & Prema 2002, Malayalam
Phonological awareness skills			
Development of rhyming skills parallels with syllable deletion and it has negative correlation with reading	Development of rhyming skills not parallel with syllable deletion	Rhyming and alliteration, potential tasks to predict language based reading disability	Performance on rhyming and syllable skills equated by grade V
Phoneme deletion not correlated with writing	Phoneme deletion correlates with writing but not reading	NA	Phoneme deletion correlates with writing but not reading
Phoneme awareness not complete by grade-VII	NA	NA	Phoneme skills not complete by grade-VII
SHWA- sensitivity to orthographic principles			
SHWA- oral and writing negatively correlated with phonology	SHWA- oral correlates with rhyming, syllable oddity and syllable reversal	NA	SHWA- oral correlates with phoneme stripping
SHWA writing shows good correlation with semantics	SHWA- writing correlates with syllable deletion	NA	SHWA-writing correlates with syllable deletion
SHWA writing consistently follows SHWA oral	SHWA-writing better than SHWA reading in grade-III and IV	NA	SHWA-writing consistently follows SHWA oral in grade V and VII

A correlational analysis between rhyming skills and reading for Kannada language (Prema, 1997) indicated negative correlation suggesting the minimal role played by rhyming in an alphabetic syllabary i.e., Kannada. She also indicates a parallel development of rhyming and syllable deletion suggesting the equivalence of the two skills. The test for sensitivity to orthographic principles (SHWA) also showed negative correlation with phonology again substantiating its minimal role. The high correlation of semantics with SHWA (writing) and negative correlation of phoneme deletion with writing further supports that the underlying skills used for learning to read Kannada are different from that for writing. The skills are also different from those specified for alphabetic scripts. The consistency of writing development following reading development unlike in western studies where it is reported that both overlap at certain stages (Frith, 1985), needs to be explored further.

Tests for phonological awareness in Tamil (Akila and Prema, 2000) did not show equivalence of rhyming and syllable deletion as in Kannada. Good correlation was found for rhyming, syllable oddity and syllable reversal with (SHWA-oral) suggesting that these are crucial factors for learning to read alpha-syllabic script, Tamil, but with its peculiarities which are different from that of Kannada (alphabetic syllabary). The high correlation found between syllable deletion and SHWA (writing) and that of phoneme deletion and writing highlights the importance of syllabic as well as phonemic skills to write this particular alpha-syllabic script, Tamil.

The relationship between phonological awareness and reading for Malayalam is drawn from two studies. Rhyming was found to be a potential task to identify 'at-risk' children for reading disability (Swaroop and Prema, 2001). An equivalence of rhyming and syllable deletion was found at grade-V and development of phoneme skill was incomplete even by grade-VII (Seetha and Prema, 2002). Another interesting finding was that phoneme deletion showed good correlation with SHWA (oral) whereas syllable deletion with that of SHWA (writing) suggesting that there could be differential skills for reading and writing in Malayalam (phonemic script). However, unlike in Tamil, SHWA (writing) consistently followed SHWA (oral) in grade V and VII.

The results indicate that reading process is dependent on an underlying script system. The results of phonological awareness in relation to the nuances of Dravidian orthography could be considered to address the following questions:

- 1) Are the models proposed by Bryant (1990) applicable to Dravidian languages?
- 2) Do the above studies offer evidences for the Orthographic Depth Hypothesis from the perspective of Dravidian languages?

The results of study offer support to the models proposed by Bryant (1990). The study employing Kannada (Prema, 1997) appears to fit well with Model-III suggesting that there is no connection between rhyming and reading whereas that of Malayalam (Swaroop and Prema, 2001; Seetha and Prema, 2002) goes well with Model-I suggesting a direct relation between rhyming skills and reading while Tamil appears to find a place along Model-II. However, large-scale study in this direction is warranted.

Writing systems vary depending on how the languages are encoded. Frost (1994) proposed the Orthographic Depth Hypothesis and suggested that the use of phonology is determined by properties of the orthography. The *Universal Phonological Principle* (UPP) states that encounters with printed words activate multiple levels of phonology in all writing systems, which control only the details of activation (Perfetti et al., 1992). The dependency of writing systems on spoken language suggests that reading is a meaning plus phonology process. The results of the present study on phonological awareness and SHWA appear to be consistent with Orthographic Depth Hypothesis as the performance of children differed with reference to the script specific features. Further, the results suggest that the three Dravidian languages need not be treated as one composite unit (that was adopted on the basis of their origin and linguistic structure), but Speech-Language Pathologists and Remedial Educators would benefit in their clinical practice if one could grade a given script over a range of orthographic systems. An attempt made as follows would be of interest to both the groups of professionals.

Kannada-alphabetic syllabary (with regular grapho-phoneme correspondence, with two exceptional graphemes)

Tamil and Malayalam-Alphabetic phonemes, which could be sub-classified as follows:

- i. Tamil-consonant alphabets represent consonants only or consonants plus some vowels. Full vowel indication (vocalisation) can be added, usually by means of diacritics, but this is not common.
- ii. Malayalam-phonemic alphabets that represent consonants and vowels.

Summary

Investigation of reading acquisition in three Dravidian languages has provided evidences for and against the relevance of phonological awareness in reading. The nuances of script specific features in the three languages under study offer evidences for the model proposed by Bryant (1990) and the Orthographic Depth Hypothesis (Frost, 1994). Suggestions are proposed to sub-classify the Dravidian languages on the basis of script because of its clinical relevance.

Acknowledgment

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APPENDIX - I

Kannada alphabet

Vowels

ಅ	ಆ	ಇ	ಈ	ಉ	ಊ	ಋ	ೠ	ಎ	ಏ	ಐ	ಒ	ಓ	ಔ
a	ā	i	ī	u	ū	ṛ	ṝ	e	ē	ai	o	ō	au
[ʌ]	[a:]	[i]	[i:]	[u]	[u:]	[r/ru]	[r:/ru:]	[e]	[e:]	[aj]	[o]	[o:]	[aw]

Vowel diacritics

ಕ	ಕಾ	ಕಿ	ಕೀ	ಕು	ಕೂ	ಕೃ	ಕೃ	ಕೆ	ಕೇ	ಕೈ	ಕೊ	ಕೋ	ಕೌ	ಕಃ
ka	kā	ki	kī	ku	kū	kṛ	kṛ	ke	kē	kai	ko	kō	kau	k
														kam kah

Consonants

ಕ	k	[k]	ಖ	kh	[kʰ]	ಗ	g	[g]	ಘ	gh	[gʱ]	ಙ	ṅ	[ŋ]
ಚ	c	[ç]	ಛ	ch	[çʰ]	ಜ	j	[dʒ]	ಝ	jh	[dʒʱ]	ಞ	ṇ	[ɲ]
ಟ	t	[t]	ಠ	th	[tʰ]	ಡ	ḍ	[ḍ]	ಢ	dh	[ḍʱ]	ಣ	ṇ	[ɳ]
ತ	t	[t]	ಥ	th	[tʰ]	ದ	d	[d]	ಧ	dh	[dʱ]	ನ	n	[n]
ಪ	p	[p]	ಫ	ph	[pʰ]	ಬ	b	[b]	ಭ	bh	[bʱ]	ಮ	m	[m]
ಯ	y	[j]	ರ	r	[r]	ಲ	l	[l]	ವ	v	[v]	ಶ	ṣ	[ʃ]
ಸ	s	[s]	ಹ	ṣ	[ʃ]	ಸ	s	[s]				ಹ	h	[h]

A selection of conjunct consonants

ಕಕ	ಗಗ	ಚಚ	ಟಟ	ತತ	ದದ	ನನ	ಬಬ	ಮಮ	ತಲ	ಲಳ	ನನ	ನನ
kka	gga	cca	tta	tta	tra	thya	dda	nna	bba	mma	rla	lla
											stha	spa
												ava

Numerals

೦	೧	೨	೩	೪	೫	೬	೭	೮	೯	೧೦
ಒಂದು	ಎರಡು	ಮೂರು	ನಾಲ್ಕು	ಐದು	ಆರು	ಏಳು	ಎಂಟು	ಒಂಬತ್ತು	ಹತ್ತು	
omdu	eradu	mūru	nāḷku	aidu	āru	ēlu	emtu	ombhattu	hattu	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	

APPENDIX - II

Tamil alphabet

Vowels and vowel diacritics

அ	ஆ	இ	ஈ	உ	ஊ	எ	ஏ	ஐ	ஒ	ஔ	ஔ
a	ā	i	ī	u	ū	e	ē	ai	o	ō	au
[ʌ]	[a:]	[i]	[i:]	[u,ʌ]	[u:]	[e]	[e:]	[ʌy]	[o]	[o:]	[ʌu]
ப	பா	பி	பீ	பு	பூ	பெ	பே	பை	பொ	போ	பெள
pa	pā	pi	pī	pu	pū	pe	pē	pai	po	pō	pau

Non-standard consonant-vowel combinations

நை	நி	நீ	நு	நூ	கு	கூ	கூ	நு	நூ	து
nā	nī	nī	nū	nū	ku	cū	nū	tu	nū	tu
நு	மு	நு	லு	லூ	நு	மு	நு	நு	நு	நு
nu	mu	ru	lu	lu	ru	lu	ru	ju	su	su
ஹு	கூ	கூ	நூ	நூ	கூ	நூ	மு	நு	லு	மு
hu	ksu	kū	nū	nū	tū	nū	mū	rū	lū	lū
நு	நூ	நூ	நூ	நூ	நூ	நூ	நூ	நூ	நூ	நூ
nū	rū	nū	jū	śū	sū	hū	ksū	nai	lai	lai
நை	நை	நை	நை	நை	நை	நை	நை	நை	நை	நை
nai	no	ro	no	nō	rō	nō	r			

Consonants

Grantha letters

க	k [k, g, x, ɣ, h]	த	t [t, d, θ]	ல	l [l]	ஜ	j [ɟ]
ங	n [ŋ]	ந	n [n]	வ	v [ʋ]	ச	ś [ʃ]
ச	c [tʃ, ʃ, s]	ப	p [p, b, β]	ழ	z, ɽ [ɽ]	ஸ	s [s]
ஞ	ñ [ɲ]	ம	m [m]	ள	l [l]	ஹ	h [h]
ட	ṭ [ṭ, ḍ, ṇ]	ய	y [j]	ற	ṛ, ṛ [ṛ, ṛ]	கூ	ks [kʃ]
ண	ṇ [ṇ]	ர	r [r]	ன	n, N [n]		

= āytam - turns p into f and j into z, e.g. பீஃ fi [fi:] ஜிஃ zi [zi:]

The final five consonants are known as *grantha* letters and are used to write consonants borrowed from Sanskrit, and also some words of English origin.

Numerals

௧	௨	௩	௪	௫	௬	௭	௮	௯	௧௦	௧௦௦	௧௦௦௦
ongru	irantu	mūṅru	naraṅku	aintu	āru	ēmu	ettu	onpatu	pattu	nūru	en
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	100	1000

The numerals rarely appear in modern Tamil texts. Instead, 'Arabic' numerals (1,2,3, etc.) are used.

Other symbols

௨	ம்	௭	யு	௭	௭	௭	௭
day	month	year	debit	credit	as above	rupee	numeral
sign	sign	sign	sign	sign	sign	sign	sign

APPENDIX - III

Malayalam alphabet

Vowels (svaram)

അ	ആ	ഇ	ഈ	ഉ	ഊ	ഋ	ൠ	എ	ഐ	ഒ	ഓ	ഔ	
a	ā	i	ī	u	ū	ṛ	ṛ	e	ē	ai	o	ō	au
[a]	[a:]	[i]	[i:]	[u]	[u:]	[ri]	[ri]	[e]	[e:]	[ai]	[o]	[o:]	[au]

Vowel diacritics with ka

ക	കാ	കി	കീ	കു	കൂ	കു	കു	കെ	കേ
ka	kā	ki	kī	ku	kū	kr	ke	ke	ke
കൈ	കൊ	കോ	കൗ	കം	കഃ	ക / ക്			
kai	ko	kō	kau	kam	kah	k			

Note

When combined with vowel diacritics some consonants change shape. This doesn't happen in the simplified version of the script (in blue).

Consonants (vyanjanam)

ക	ka [ka]	ഖ	kha [kʰa]	ഗ	ga [ga]	ഘ	gha [gʱa]	ങ	ṅa [ŋa]
ച	ca [tʃa]	ഛ	cha [tʃʰa]	ജ	ja [dʒa]	ഝ	jha [dʒʱa]	ഞ	ṇa [ɲa]
ട	ta [ta]	ഠ	ṭha [tʰa]	ഡ	da [da]	ഢ	dha [dʱa]	ണ	ṇa [ɲa]
ത	ta [ta]	ഥ	ṭha [tʰa]	ദ	da [da]	ധ	dha [dʱa]	ന	na [na]
പ	pa [pa]	ഫ	pha [pʰa]	ബ	ba [ba]	ഭ	bha [bʱa]	മ	ma [ma]
യ	ya [ja]	ര	ra [ra]	ല	la [la]	വ	va [va]		
ശ	ṣa [ʃa]	ഷ	ṣha [ʃʰa]	സ	sa [sa]	ഹ	ha [ha]		
ള	ḷa [ɭa]	ഴ	ḷa [ɭʰa]	റ	ra [ra]				

A selection of conjunct consonants

യു	യ്ക	യ്ക	യ്ക	ട	ഡ്ക	ണ്ക	പ്ത	ബ്ത	സ്ത	ച്ത	ക്ത	പ്ത
yk	ykk	cch	ll	tt	dd	sn	pt	bd	sn	pp	km	ps
കി	കി	കി	കി	കി	കി	കി	കി	കി	കി	കി	കി	കി
kt	kk	kk	kk	kk	kk	nt	nd	tt	tm	nt	nd	sc
Consonant diacritics												
പ്ര	പ്ര	പ്ര	പ്ര	പ്ര	പ്ര	പ്ര	പ്ര	പ്ര	പ്ര	പ്ര	പ്ര	പ്ര
pr	pr	pr	pr	pr	pr	pr	pr	pr	pr	pr	pr	pr

Numerals

൧	൨	൩	൪	൫	൬	൭	൮	൯	൧൦
ഒന്ന്	രണ്ട്	മൂന്ന്	നാല്	അഞ്ച്	ആറ്	ഏഴ്	എട്ട്	ഒമ്പത്	പത്ത്
onnu	rantu	mānnu	nālu	añcu	āru	ēlu	ettu	onpatu	pattu
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

APPENDIX - IV

Examples of test stimuli

A. Tests for phonological awareness

Rhyme recognition	/olage-kelage/	‘in-down’
Syllable stripping	/javali-li/ = java	‘clothing’
Syllable oddity (words)	/carata, camaca, catura, seragu/	‘residue, spoon, clever, pallu’
Syllable oddity (non-words)	/deniya, manuri, debasu, deduca/	
Phoneme stripping	/sedu-s/ = edu	‘revenge’
Phoneme oddity (non-words)	/luta, keti, benu, satu/	

B. SHWA

Test for sensitivity to orthographic principles	Responses in oral and written mode for combination of /a/, /i/, /u/, /e/ and /o/ with four phonemes not existent in the given language represented by imaginary graphemes
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THE PERIOD OF TOLKĀPPIYAM NOT EARLIER THAN 3RD CENTURY A.D. - AN EPIGRAPHIC APPROACH

A. KAMATCHI
Annamalai University

Abstract

Scholars have differently assigned the period of Tolkāppiyam between 1000 B.C. and 500 A.D. But, the authenticity is not so reliable from the points these scholars mention. The comparison of the corpus of Tamil-Brāhmi scripts as well as the early Vatteluttu with the sutras alluding the phonological system described by Tolkāppiyam could bring to light the period of Tolkāppiyam, which is the earliest extant grammar not only to Tamil but also to the other Dravidian languages. Based on the period, Tamil-Brāhmi inscriptions are classified into two types - early Tamil-Brāhmi and late Tamil-Brāhmi - which the epigraphist found mostly in the caves of mountains in the land of Pandiya country. The early Tamil-Brāhmi is determined to the period from 3rd century B.C. to 1st century A.D. while the late Tamil-Brāhmi is assigned to 2nd to 4th century A.D. Based on the evidence of original inscriptional written materials given, as it is, in the form of photostat copies provided in the book, "Early Tamil Epigraphy (from the earliest times to the sixth century A.D.)", written by Mahadevan (2003) and what are the alphabetical system enumerated by Tolkāppiyam in the form of sutras in his work, this study attempts to find out the approximate period of Tolkāppiyam.

Introduction

The antedating and post-dating of *Tolkāppiyam* is not uncommon among the scholars. Scholars have fixed its age differently. It is the established fact that a number of scholars have agreed in assigning *Tolkāppiyam* to the pre-Christian era though they differ among themselves by fixing it to different centuries. As Subramoniam (1971:108) points out, "among the literary works of Tamil a few can be dated definitely. An example is Njāna Campantar's *Tēvāram*. The works before this period, including *Tolkāppiyam*, the *Sangam* anthologies, the epics *Cilappatikāram* and *Maṇimēkalai* and the renowned *Tirukkuṛal* are of uncertain dates". Nevertheless, there are a

number of photostat copies of the cave inscriptions which explicitly make it clear what are the graphemic symbols available in the inscriptions in the earliest period. With these graphemic symbols recorded in the inscriptions, it could be compared with the graphemic descriptions dealt with by many sutras in *Tolkāppiyam*. Based on the period assigned to the inscription by epigraphists, it is feasible for the scholars to determine the date of *Tolkāppiyam* with more legitimacy as well as authenticity.

Pre-Asoka's inscription period assigned to *Tolkāppiyam*

Putting forward a series of arguments, Ilakkuvanar (1963:11) concludes that "the age of *Tolkāppiyam* is found to be of high antiquity, somewhere between 1000 B.C. and 600 B.C., probably 700 B.C." In the same manner, Subramoniam, in his introduction to the commentary on *Tolkāppiyam eluttatikāram* by Naccinārkkiniyar (*kalakam patippu* (1955:6)), asserts that "the date of *Tolkāppiyam* must be fixed prior to that of Valmiki's work which is earlier than seventh century B.C." According to Naccinārkkiniyar, one of the commentators of *Tolkāppiyam*, "the word *nānmaRai* mentioned in the *ciRappuppāyiram* by Atankōttāsān refers to *taintiriyam*, *paudikam*, *talavakāram* and *cāmaṇēdam* and hence Tolkāppiyar lived before the Vedas in Sanskrit were classified by Vyāsa into Rgvēda". Arguing with this statement, Sastri (1979) says that "*taintiriyam* is a *sākha* or recension of the Yajurvēda; *paudika* is the tadbhava of Bahrcyam which refers to Rgvēda; *talavakāram* is a *sākha* of *sāmaṇēda*. Hence Naccinārkkiniyar's statement that Tolkāppiyar lived before Vyāsa classified the Vēdas does not seem to be sound" (p. xxix).

On the other hand, Varadarajan (1944:4) claims that "Tolkāppiyānār's work belongs to a period not later than 500 B.C.". In the same way, Chidambaram Chettiyar (1943:3) states that "*Tolkāppiyam* arose about 4th century B.C.". Submitting a series of internal evidences, Rajamanikkam (1964:17) expresses his view that "unless otherwise proved by proper evidences, it is right to say that Tolkāppiyar might have lived during the fourth century B.C." Similarly, Srinivasa Ayyangar (1974:117) is of the opinion that "Tolkāppiyar must have lived anterior to B.C. 350, which is the date assigned to Panini".

Srinivasa Pillai (1984:9) states that "Tolkāppiyānār must have lived before the advent of Jainism in Tamil country and according to historians the advent of Jainism took place at the end of 3rd century B.C.". Stating a number of arguments from internal and external evidences, and refuting the

arguments by Sivaraja Pillai in his book "the chronology of the Early Tamils", Bharati (1936: 258-65) comes to the conclusion that "*Tolkāppiyam* must have belonged to a period not later than the 6th century B.C."

It is significant to note here that there were oral and written traditions (existed in our country) and the former is earlier than the latter. It is regrettable to argue that the scholars who assigned *Tolkāppiyam* to the period earlier than 3rd century B.C. have, knowingly or unknowingly, failed to know the fact that the written tradition in India has been recorded only in the 3rd century B.C., which is known from the Asokan's inscription on the Sthupi. That is, the history of decipherable epigraphy in India commenced from the time of Asoka (272 to 232 B.C.). In this regard, it is noteworthy to mention the quotation of Gai (from Indica (1991:125-6)) that "Megasthenes, the Greek Ambassador to the court of the Maurya King, Chandragupta, writes that milestones were fixed on the roads for the convenience of the travellers" (1986:15). This discussion, according to him (ibid), shows that "the writing system existed in India prior to the Mauryan King, Asoka. But, unfortunately we have not yet come across any material evidence like inscriptions to enable us to know about the nature of this writing. Any future discovery in this regard will be an event of great significance. Till then, we have to take it that the earliest datable epigraphs discovered and deciphered so far in India are the famous edicts of the Mauryan King, Asoka". Because of this reason, the date of early Tamil-*Brāhmi* inscriptions mostly available in the cave-beds of the jurisdiction of then Pandiya kingdom has been assigned to 3rd century B.C. to 1st century A.D. So, the determinations of the age of *Tolkāppiyam* assigned (by those scholars) to the period before 3rd century B.C. do not seem to be empirical.

Post-Asoka's inscription period assigned to *Tolkāppiyam*

Now, let us come to the views of the scholars who assigned the period of *Tolkāppiyam* to not earlier than 3rd century B.C. *Tolkāppiyam*, according to Sastri (1979), "cannot be later than 2nd century B.C." (p. xxx). In the same manner, Kanakasabhai (1904:116) considers that *Tolkāppiyam* must have been composed in the first or second century B.C." "A few learned scholars rightly consider that a few sutras, which deal with the later-day developments of different aspects of Tamil language, would have been interpolations of a later period. Excluding those few sutras, the remaining major portion can easily be assigned to the pre-*Sangam* period", Meenakshisundaran (1965:52,53) states. However, he could not come forward to mention the date of pre-*Sangam*.

In the same manner, without indicating the period of *Tolkāppiyam*, Israel (1973:7) notably points out that "a good number of rules found in *Tolkāppiyam* are not in agreement with the usages of *Sangam* period or of later period. So, it would be better and befitting to take those rules to represent the period earlier than the *Sangam* age. However, it is very difficult to fix the exact date of *Tolkāppiyānār*".

Later period assigned to *Tolkāppiyam*

Quoting the statement made by Vaiyapuri Pillai (1956:58) that "on the basis of certain words, rules or ideas alleged of later period and appearing in *Tolkāppiyam*, it is itself assigned to a later period and is brought as far as down to fifth century A.D.", Meenakshisundaran (1965:47) states that "those who made intensive study of this and *Sangam* literature like the old commentators hold that *Tolkāppiyam* belongs to pre-*Sangam* period". "The symbol of diphthong *au* seems to have got representation only in the period of *Tolkāppiyam* and in the same way, the script of *āytam*, too, should have been incorporated in the Tamil alphabetic system only after the period of *Tolkāppiyam*" (Shanmugam 1978:12).

According to the introduction to introduction of the Irayanar Kalaviyal Urai, "those who have made an intensive study of this work and the *Sangam* literature, like the old commentators, hold that *Tolkāppiyam* belongs to a pre-*Sangam* period", On the other hand, materially examining the rules and explanations noted in the *Tolkāppiyam* sutras, Meenakshisundaran (1965:52) logically concludes, " *Tolkāppiyam*, as far as major portion is concerned, belongs to the pre-*Sangam* period. The language of the *Brāhmi* inscriptions is not different from the language which *Tolkāppiyam* portrays for us". In contrast to his statement, as far as phonological part of *Tolkāppiyam* is concerned, the corpus of the photostat copy provided in the book makes it clear that the language of early Tamil-*Brāhmi* inscriptions, in many ways, differs from the rules and explanations enumerated by *Tolkāppiyam*. It doubts that *Tolkāppiyar*'s statement that the vowel *a* does not occur with the consonants *c*, *ñ* and *y* at initial position in the word, but how the word *Sangam* existed in the period when his work was produced at the Pandian's Court. According to Nakkīrar, *Tolkāppiyam* was referred by the people belonged to medieval as well as last *Sangam* period.

īṭaic caṅkattārkkum kṭaic caṅkattārkkum nūlāyirru.

It is to be noted here that *Tolkāppiyam*, according to Nakkīranar, was very helpful to the people of medieval as well as later *Sangam* period.

From his point of view, we came to know the fact that *Tolkāppiyam* was not composed at the time of first *Sangam* and therefore, *Tolkāppiyam* was not used by the people belonging to the first *Sangam* period. In addition, it could be assumed that there is no literary evidence to claim the existence of *Tolkāppiyam* at the period at which the first *Sangam* prevailed in the country.

Sivaraja Pillai (1984:258) says that *Tolkāppiyam* "belongs to an anterior stratum, the so-called 'second *Sangam* literature', and that it is far too much older than *puRanānūRu*, *akanānūRu*, etc., which are relegated to a special class, the 'Third *Sangam* classics". Having put forth the historical and literary evidence, Srinivasa Iyengar (1982:155-61) emphasizes that "all the poems in each anthology do not belong to one age and comes to determine the age of anthology between the 4th and the 6th century A.D.". While comparing the points discussed so far in this study with the literary evidence given by Sivaraja Pillai & Srinivasa Iyengar, empirically speaking, their findings about the age of *Tolkāppiyam* could not be set aside.

Twelve vowels

It is precisely emphasized that the corpus of the early Tamil-*Brāhmi* indisputably shows only eight vowel symbols - *a*, *ā*, *i*, *ī*, *u*, *ū*, *ē*, *ō*. Contrary to this record, there are twelve vowels which include the short vowels of *e* and *o*, as enumerated in the sutra of *Tol. elu. 8*.

aukāra viRuvāyp

pannī reluttu muyirena mol

(*Tol. elu. 8*)

Considering the short vowels *e* and *o*, which the author of the book, *Early Tamil Epigraphy (from the earliest times to the sixth century A.D.)*, has considered to be the graphemic status in the early Tamil-*Brāhmi* script, they were actually not developed to graphemic status, as far as the palaeographic status is concerned. The scholars working in the field of inscriptional Tamil might astonishingly have adopted the alphabetic system of either *Tolkāppiyam* or *Sangam* literature but not the original inscriptional literature reading. Therefore, it is reasonable to believe that no separate primary vowel symbols for *e*, *o*, *ai* and *au* were, as enumerated in *Tol. elu. 3* & 4, attested in the early Tamil-*Brāhmi* inscriptions.

AvaRRuḷ a i u

e o ennu mapālaintu

mōraḷa picaikku n kuRRelut tenpa

(*Tol. elu. 3*)

ā ī ū ē ai

ō au ennu mapā lēlu

mīraḷa picaikku nettelut tenpa

(*Tol. elu. 4*)

Short vowels 'e' and 'o'

ekara okarat tiyaRkaiyu maRRē

(*Tol. elu. 16*)

Tol. elu. 16 obviously explains the distinction between the short and long vowels of *e* and *o*. According to this sutra, the dot with the symbols represented by the long vowels of *e* and *o* is employed to be the representative for the short vowels of *e* and *o*, respectively. But the close watch on the vowel symbols employed in the early Tamil-*Brāhmi*, belonging to 3rd century B.C. to 1st century A.D., evidently shows that there was no distinction between short and long vowels of *e* and *o*. That is, no separate symbol for either short *e* or *o* has been recorded in the early Tamil-*Brāhmi* period.

Despite the fact that the primary short vowel *e* with dot on the symbol was recorded only in the late Tamil-*Brāhmi* inscriptions, which belong to 2nd century to 4th century A.D., there was no dot on the symbol to represent the secondary vowel of *e* up to the period of late Tamil-*Brāhmi* inscriptions. On the contrary, it is apparent to say that the dot was put on the secondary symbol of long vowel *ō* to represent the short vowel of *o* whereas the dot on the primary symbol for representing the primary short vowel *o* was not recorded in the corpus even up to the period of early *Vatṭeluttu*, the period of which is determined between 5th and 6th century A.D.

Further, it is established that there was no secondary symbol for the short vowel *e* at the period of Tamil-*Brāhmi*, the primary symbol of which was, however, attested with a dot on the symbol of the long vowel *ē* from the period of the late Tamil *Brāhmi*. Considering the corpus of the late Tamil *Brāhmi* and early *Vatṭeluttu*, the symbol *ē* with the dot to represent the primary short vowel *e* occurs first in the inscription no. 85 (of the late Tamil-*Brāhmi*), which belongs to 4th century A.D. and subsequently in the inscription no. 117 (of the early *Vatṭeluttu*) belonging to the period of 6th century A.D. The secondary symbol for the short vowel *o* gets a dot on the combination of the long vowel *ō* and the consonant though it does not get the dot on the basic symbol of the long vowel *ō* to represent the primary symbol of the short vowel *o*. As far as the records on late Tamil-*Brāhmi* and early *Vatṭeluttu* are concerned, the secondary short vowel *o* with the dot has attested only in three inscriptions - first one in 77 (of the late Tamil-*Brāhmi*

inscriptions) belonging to 3rd century A.D. and the other two in 102 and 104 of the early *Vatteluttu* in the corpus.

It is noteworthy to express that observing the system of dot with the symbol, Tolkappiyar emphasized for making the short vowels of *e* and *o* from the long vowels *ē* and *ō*, respectively, as mentioned in the sutra *Tol. elu. 16*.

ekara okarat tiyaRkaiyu maRRee (Tol. *elu. 16*)

The evolution of such system seems to have sporadically developed only from the period of late Tamil-*Brāhmi*, the period of which is, according to the scholars from the epigraphy research, determined to 2nd to 4th century A.D. only. It is, moreover, reiterated that the existence of the dot system putting on the long vowels, *ē* and *ō* for shortening them were nowhere available in the early Tamil-*Brāhmi* scripts. Further, it is significant to note that the sutra *Tol. elu. 16* does not, however, explicitly indicate whether putting the dot is only for the primary symbol of vowels *e* and *o* or for the secondary symbols of these two vowels, too.

Vowel symbol for 'ai'

As far as the vowel *ai* is concerned, the secondary symbol of *ai* splendidly occurs right from the period of early Tamil-*Brāhmi*. Notwithstanding, it is surprised to note that there was no attestation of primary symbol for vowel *ai* in both the period of early as well as late Tamil-*Brāhmi* inscriptions. But, Tolkāppiyar mentions about the primary vowel symbol of *ai* in sutras, like

ā ī ū ē ai
ō au ennu mappā lēlu
mīrāla picaikku nettelut tenpa (Tol. *elu. 4*)

Further, it is undeniably reported that the primary basic symbol indicating *ai*, was, of course, found only in early *Vatteluttu* even though its secondary symbol, in fact, was evident to occur right from the period of early Tamil-*Brāhmi*. It is evident that the primary vowel symbol of *ai* is recorded for the first time only in the inscription No. 116 (of the early *Vatteluttu*) belonging to 6th century A.D. from the site of Thirunatharkunru.

Vowel symbol for 'au'

aukāra viRuvāyp
pannī reluttu muyirena molipa (Tol. *elu. 8*)

It is important to mention here that despite the fact that the sutras of *Tol. elu.* 4 & 8, talks about the symbol for the diphthong *au* - either the primary symbol or the secondary symbol for *au* - was not put on record from the period of early Tamil-*Brāhmi* script up to the period of early *Vatteluttu*. Then it is still incongruent how Tolkāppiyar mentions about the symbol of *au* and its combination with consonants.

Dot on the Consonants

A close observation on these two materials remarkably exhibits that the language of early Tamil-*Brāhmi* was, to a great extent, not at all close to what sutras of *Tolkāppiyam* enumerates the then language of Tamil. Accordingly, the dot (*pulli*) system, about which Tolkāppiyar mentions in his work, was not at all available in the early Tamil-*Brāhmi*, belonging to 3rd century B.C. to 1st century A.D.

Of course, there is no dispute in the alphabetic system of consonants attested in both *Tolkāppiyam* and the early Tamil-*Brāhmi* since *Tolkāppiyam* identifies eighteen consonants and the same member of consonants existed in the early Tamil-*Brāhmi*. However, all the consonants,

meyyi niyaRkai pulliyotu nilaiyal (Tol. elu. 15)

according to *Tol. elu.* 15, get dot with the symbols to represent the consonants but such a dot system was not found in the period of early Tamil-*Brāhmi*. If there is no dot on the consonant symbol, then that symbol should be treated as the combination of consonant plus vowel *a* in the Tamil alphabetical system, according to sutra (*Tol. elu.* 17).

pulli yillā vellā meyyu
muruvuru vāki yakaramō űuyirtalum (Tol. elu. 17)

Now it is clear that the system of dot on the symbol to represent the consonant is not identified in the early Tamil-*Brāhmi* scripts (3rd century B.C. to 1st century A.D.) though the system seems to have developed from the period of late Tamil-*Brāhmi* (2nd to 4th century A.D.). Because of this reason, in the early Tamil-*Brāhmi*, finding out the distinction between the individual consonant and the combination of consonant plus vowel *a* was difficult for the people who wants to read the inscription made in the period of early Tamil-*Brāhmi*. Based on the context only, the symbol was determined (by epigraphists) whether it was the combination of consonant plus vowel *a*, or the individual basic consonant.

It is interesting to note here that although *Tolkāppiyam* merely says that the significant characteristic feature of the consonant symbol is getting dot on it, there is no reference to state where the dot should be put on the symbol. In other words, it is not able to know from the sutra whether the dot was on the top of the symbol, or right, or left side of the symbol, or inside the symbol. Nowadays we put the dot on the top of the symbol. Nevertheless, no dot system had prevailed in the period of early Tamil-*Brāhmi*. On the other hand, it is remarkably reported that the dot has astonishingly been put on the left, right, top or even inside of the symbol in the late Tamil-*Brāhmi* and early *Vatteluttu* inscriptions. What the sutra *Tol. elu.15* indicates that there is a dot on the symbol to represent consonant. Pointing out the 'dot system' developed from the late Tamil-*Brāhmi*, Mahadevan (2003:231) is of the opinion that *Tolkāppiyam* "must have been composed after the *pulli* was invented and had become an integral part of Tamil writing. Judging from the available evidence of the earliest occurrences of the *pulli* form about the end of 1st century A.D., *Tolkāppiyam* was composed most probably not earlier than the late Tamil-*Brāhmi* period (2nd - 4th century A.D.)".

Shortened 'u', 'i' and 'āytam'

Tolkāppiyam is talking about *cārpeluttu*, dependent sounds, like *kuRRiyalikaram*, shortened *i*, *kuRRiyalukaram* shortened *u* and *āytam*, sound like *h*, the latter of which is a unique sound in Tamil. There is no evidence to have a separate symbol to denote either shortened *i* or shortened *u* in any period of Tamil. So does the *āytam* in the corpus of the Tamil-*Brāhmi* and the early *Vatteluttu*. That is, no separate symbol for *āytam* was found in the corpus of both the Tamil-*Brāhmi* (3rd B.C. to 1st Century A.D.) and the early *Vatteluttu* (5th to 6th century A.D.). But the description of the symbol *āytam* occurs in many sutras in *Tolkāppiyam*.

avaitān

kuRRiya likaraṇ kuRRiya lukara

māytamenRa

muppāR puḷiyu meluttō ranna

(*Tol. elu. 2*)

According to *Tol. elu. 2*, *āytam* with *kuRRiyayalukaram*, the shortened *u*, and *kuRRiyalikaram*, the shortened *i*, is enumerated and listed out in the Tamil alphabetic system.

Space system

Observing the corpus of the Tamil-*Brāhmi*, no space has been found between the forms or the words. Only one of the inscriptions (in Sittannavasal,

belonging to 5th century A.D.) in the corpus, however, shows a vertical line which is alleged to function as the line boundary only in two occurrences. However, it is undoubtedly indicated that even this vertical line represents the line space but not the word space, at all. On the contrary, while observing the *Tolkāppiyam* sutras, space has been given only based on the system of a kind of verses. However, such a space was not based on the words, which are available nowadays in the prose writings, but mostly based on the four-foot of *ācīriyavuriccīr*, feet peculiar to the *akaval* verse - as 1) *tēmā*, a spondee a foot of two simple syllables, 2) *pulimā*, an iambus, one compound and one simple syllable, 3) *karuvīlam*, a pyrrhic, two compound syllables and 4) *kuuviam*, a trochee, one simple and one compound syllable.

Glide system

ellā molikku muyirvaru valiyē
uṭampatu meyyinu ruvukoḷal varaiyār (Tol. *elu*. 140)

Tol. elu. 140 indicates about the glides, which would, in term of *sandhi* system, be present when two forms - one ending with vowel and the other beginning with vowel - combine together. But the early Tamil-*Brāhmi* inscriptions bring to light only the non-occurrence of glides - *y* and *v* in the external *sandhi* except in only one case as attested in *elai-y-ūr* (34). Orthographically, this case, too, can, in other way, be construed as *elai-ya-ūr* since the symbol *y* could be interpreted as either *y* or *ya*, as far as the early Tamil-*Brāhmi* is concerned. As a result, there may be a chance not to treat it as a glide. Moreover, in many occurrences where the glide should have been present, the presence of glide had not been recorded. Nevertheless, there are cases where the so-called glides were said to be present. Scrutinizing these inscriptions, all these are internal *sandhi*, but no external *sandhi* exhibits the glide system. Only four cases are reported in the early Tamil-*Brāhmi*.

koṭiyōn (4) *lāvōn* (10) *ittāvān* (12) *īruvār* (48)

There are more than 34 occurrences where the vowels followed by other vowels were recorded in the corpus of early Tamil-*Brāhmi* scripts. Of them, some of the instances are given for the perusal, as shown below:

<i>ittaa - a</i> (1)	<i>e - iyl</i> (18)	<i>ku - an</i> (2)
<i>caapamitaa - iina</i> (41)	<i>cee - iya</i> (2)	<i>ceenta - a</i> (28)
<i>koṭi - oor</i> (6)	<i>kuru - iya</i> (17)	<i>tiṭi - il</i> (33)
<i>mula - ukai</i> (17)	<i>vintai - uuri</i> (57)	

Geminated consonants

One of the characteristic orthographic features of the Tamil-*Brāhmi* inscriptions is the employment of a single consonant in writing to represent the geminated consonant sounds in language with only exception in five words. These are evidently attested in the medieval position with double consonant clusters which are the same kind of consonants, i.e. geminated consonants. Observing the data provided in the early Tamil-*Brāhmi* inscriptions, there is no geminated consonant system (except only in five words like *dhammam*, *kottupit(t)ōn*, *attiran*, *kāttān* and *ittā*) available in the early Tamil-*Brāhmi* inscriptions. Subramanya Aiyer (1924:288) observes that "doubling of consonant (gemination) came into late use in the Tamil language" and that its absence "is a telling feature of the records". But Mahadevan (2003:240), arguing the above statement, expresses his concerns that "he (Aiyer) did not read the longest inscription at Mangulam (No. 1 in the present corpus) which contains no fewer than five of the earliest instances of doubled consonant".

Examining the data provided in the early Tamil-*Brāhmi* inscriptions, the characteristic feature of gemination system is attested only in four sites where they occur in six out of fifty nine inscriptions. Only six words - *dhammam*, *kottupitōn*, *kottupittōn*, *attiran*, *kāttān* and *ittā* - have geminated consonants. Out of these six forms, the form *ittā* occurs in four inscriptions from three sites - Mangulam, Kongarpuliyankulam and Jambai whereas the form *kottupittōn* is attested in three inscriptions from one site in Mangulam and the form *kottupitōn* in two inscriptions - one in the same site of Mangulam and the other in Thiruvadavur. The form *attiran*, which seems to have denoted a personal name, is available only in one inscription in the Mettupatti site whereas the form *dhammam*, which appears to have borrowed from Sanskrit, is found in the inscription of Mangulam site. The occurrence of the form *kāttān*, probably denoting a village deity, is available in the inscription of Muttupatti site.

One and the same word *dhammam*, which has, otherwise, been inscribed without gemination, is also attested in another inscription in the same site of Mangulam. In the same manner, there are many instances without gemination of *ṭ* and *t* in *koṭupitoon* 'one who made the inscription' available in the corpus of the early Tamil-*Brāhmi*. So, what the corpus of the early Tamil-*Brāhmi* exhibits is that only three consonants - *m*, *ṭ*, *t* - have been geminated. Apart from these, the geminated consonant of *-tt-* is also available in two cases where there is no need of gemination at all. Those

forms are *valutti* instead of *valuti* and *mattirai* instead of *matirai* attested in the inscription of Mangulam site and Alagarmalai site, respectively.

It is notably pointed out that according to the tabulation of Mahadevan (2003:242), the total number of occurrences where geminated consonants are expected to occur is only sixteen percentages in the period of early Tamil-*Brāhmi*. On the other hand, comparing to the late Tamil-*Brāhmi* as well as the early *Vatteluttu*, the gemination system has substantially increased in both the periods of time. Thus, sixteen percentages of gemination system in the period of early Tamil-*Brāhmi* had considerably increased to 63 percent in the period of late Tamil-*Brāhmi* and this figure, in turn, went up to 87 percent in the period of the early *Vatteluttu*. So what it means is that the system of gemination which might have been uncommon in the early period (i.e. before the period of *Tolkāppiyam*) might have been gradually developed in the Tamil language in the later period.

Thus, in spite of the fact that the gemination system of plosive is sporadically found in the early Tamil-*Brāhmi* (3rd B.C. to 1st A.D.), there was no occurrence of other consonants gemination (except with the bilabial nasal *m*. Moreover, these rare gemination systems, too, have not been found both in initial and final position of the word but only in the medieval position. But, *Tol. elu. 30*, which explains that all the consonants except *r* and *l* can occur in gemination makes it clear that there is no possibility for the period of *Tolkāppiyam* to be assigned before or the contemporary period to which the early Tamil-*Brāhmi* inscriptions belong.

meynnilai cutti nellā veluttun
tammul tāmvarūum ra la valaṇ kaṭaiyē (Tol. elu. 30)

Conclusion

This study which elaborately examines the phonological system enumerated by *Tolkāppiyam* sutras and the scripts repertoire as a corpus of early Tamil inscriptions given by Mahadevan (2003), empirically exhibits the reverse side of the coin as against the obverse side of the coin as we have assumed about the writing system so far.

As against Sutras of *Tol. elu. 3, 4 & 8*, which enumerate twelve vowels, only eight vowels - *a, ā, i, ī, u, ū, ē* and *ō* - had been attested in the early Tamil-*Brāhmi* inscriptions.

As mentioned by Tolkappiyar in Sutra of *Tol. elu. 16*, there was no reference of dot on the symbol to represent the short vowels *e* and *o* in the early Tamil-*Brāhmi* (belonging to 3rd century B.C. to 1st century A.D.).

As opposed to the enumeration in Sutra of *Tol. elu. 4*, the primary symbol for *ai* was not reported in the Tamil-*Brāhmi* even though its secondary symbol was attested right from the early Tamil-*Brāhmi* up to this stage.

As far as the vowel symbol *au* is concerned, nowhere it was recorded in the period of Tamil-*Brāhmi* and the early *Vatteluttu* (i.e. even from the period of 3rd century B.C. to 6th century A.D.).

Contrary to the Sutra of *Tol. elu. 2*, the symbol for *āytam* did not occur in the Tamil-*Brāhmi* and the early *Vatteluttu*.

The dot on the primary symbol of *e* was at the first time reported in the period of late Tamil-*Brāhmi* inscriptions in general, in only one inscription belonging to 4th century A.D. in particular.

The dot on the symbol to represent the pure consonant at first started from the inscription No. 60 alone (late Tamil-*Brāhmi* inscription) belonging to the 2nd century A.D. and widely used in the period of 3rd century A.D. The dot was reported in five inscriptions (Nos. 67, 69, 74, 76 & 77) in this period. After the long gap, from inscription No. 100 onwards, one can notice the dot system in almost all the inscriptions belonging to the early *Vatteluttu* period.

From this only one insight, it is not possible to conclude that *Tolkāppiyam* might have been composed in the period to which this inscription belongs. Moreover, Many points put forward by *Tolkāppiyam* Sutras had not been attested even in the period of 3rd century A. D. what it means is that empirically speaking, Tolkāppiyar's work could not have been composed at the period of 2nd century A.D. if the scholars have given due importance to the writing system attested up to 2nd century A.D. in the inscriptional Tamil. Secondly, the inscription belonging to 3rd century A.D. put on record the dot on consonant and the vowel *e* and *o*.

Although the presence of dot on the symbol to represent consonant began only in one of the inscriptions belonging to 2nd century A.D., the widespread development of dot system for the pure consonant has anchored only after the period of 3rd century A.D. So ignoring the only one inscription where the dot system to represent the pure consonant, the

period in which *Tolkāppiyam* was composed could not be earlier than 3rd century A.D. Further, it can be claimed that most of the phonological features enumerated by Sutras in *Tolkāppiyam* have not been attested in the earlier inscriptions belonging to before 3rd century A.D. In this circumstance, such an empirical study has been forced by proper and material evidence to arrive at the conclusion that *Tolkāppiyam* must have been composed not before 3rd century A.D. unless some one argues the period which is assigned to the Tamil-*Brāhmi* as well as the early *Vatteluttu* as available in the corpus of the inscriptions with the authentic photos in the book on *Early Tamil Epigraphy (from the earliest times to the sixth century A.D.)*, written by Mahadevan (2003).

The table below shows the details of the occurrences where the various script items attested in different period of early Tamil Inscriptions and the *Tolkāppiyam* sutras (with numbers) where they were enumerated.

Table

<i>Scripts</i>	<i>Early Tamil-Brāhmi (3rd B.C. to 1st A.D.)</i>	<i>Late Tamil-Brāhmi (2nd to 4th A.D.)</i>	<i>Early Vatteluttu (5th and 6th A.D.)</i>	<i>Tolkāppiyam</i>
Dot for Primary Symbol <i>e</i>	Nil	Attested in Ins. No. 85 only (4th century A.D.)	Attested in Ins. No.117 (6th century A.D.)	<i>Tol. elu. 16</i>
Dot for Primary Symbol <i>o</i>	Nil	Nil	Nil	<i>Tol. elu. 16</i>
Dot for Secondary Symbol <i>e</i> , like (<i>ke</i>)	Nil	Nil	Attested in Ins. Nos. 102, 106, 109, 110	No Reference
Dot for Secondary Symbol <i>o</i> , like (<i>ko</i>)	Nil	Attested in Ins. No. 77 only (3rd century A.D.)	Attested in Ins. Nos. 102 (5th A.D.), 104 (5th A.D.) only	No Reference
Primary Symbol <i>ai</i>	Nil	Nil	Attested in Ins. No. 116 only (6th century A.D.)	<i>Tol. elu. 4</i>

Secondary Symbol <i>ai</i>	Attested	Attested	Attested	Reference Available
Primary Symbol <i>au</i>	Nil	Nil	Nil	<i>Tol. elu.</i> 4, 8
Secondary Symbol <i>au</i>	Nil	Nil	Nil	Reference Available
<i>āytam</i>	Nil	Nil	Nil	<i>Tol. elu.</i> 2
Dot with <i>m</i> -symbol	Nil	Attested in Ins. No. 85 (4th cen- tury A.D.)	Attested	<i>Tol. elu.</i> 14
Dot on Consonant	Nil	Attested in Ins. Nos. 60, 67, 69, 74, 77 ...	Attested	<i>Tol. elu.</i> 15, 17
Space	Nil	Nil	Nil	Reference Available

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NIETZSCHE, DERRIDA AND THE DECONSTRUCTION OF EUROPEAN LINGUISTIC MODERNITY

FRANSON MANJALI
J.N.U., New Delhi

1. Language as autonomous object

In *The Order of Things*, while providing a masterly account of the shifts in the relations between words and things in Western science and culture, Michel Foucault presents us with a graphic picture of the discontinuities in the scholarly perception of language itself in the same context. He observes that during the Renaissance period, that is, till the end of the sixteenth century, meaning in and of language was primarily experienced in terms of 'resemblance'. Language coexisted with things in the world, and the meanings of both were understood through a network of resemblances. Language was one thing among other things, and things had meanings that could be deciphered. The whole world spoke a common prose which could be interpreted in terms of a closed grid of similarities. Whereas, from the seventeenth century onwards, that is during what Foucault calls the 'classical' period, this order of resemblance shifts towards an order of 'discourse' and 'signification'. Language is now understood as a system of signs which relate to things and ideas. For this Cartesian rational order, language was a pre-constituted realm of transparent signs utilizable for the clear and distinct expression of ideas. Language belonged no longer to the domain of things, but constituted the mode of 'discourse' for signifying ideas and emotions. And finally, in the 'modern' period, that is, from the end of the eighteenth and the early nineteenth century, language emerges as an 'object' having its own autonomy, an object of comparative and historical analysis, under the rubric of a new and vibrant field called 'philology'. In the place of a hermeneutic decipherability and a semiotic transparency in the preceding periods, what we have in the philological 'modern' period is the formal opacity of language. The whole of modern 'formal' and 'objective' analysis of language, which attempts to keep the hermeneutic and semiotic

questions at bay, can be traced back to this shift at the inaugural moment of western modernity.¹

Among the three modes of compensation that followed 'this demotion of language to the mere status of an object', Foucault mentions the critical dimension that philological study of language begins to accrue in the nineteenth century.

Having become a dense and consistent historical reality, language [during the modern / philological period] forms the locus of tradition, of the unspoken habits of thought, of what lies hidden in a people's mind; it accumulates an ineluctable memory which does not even know itself as memory. Expressing their thoughts in words of which they are not the masters, enclosing them in verbal forms whose historical dimensions they are unaware of, [people] believe that their speech is their servant and do not realize that they are submitting themselves to its demand." (Foucault, 1966 / 1970: 297)

2. Language and national consciousness

It is this perspective of regarding the relationship between languages and peoples' ways of thinking, conscious or unconscious, that became the hallmark of (early) nineteenth century European philology. In opposition to the Enlightenment view, say Kantian, where language has the least formative role with respect to the emergence and the process of universal rational thought, other thinkers such as Hamann, Herder and Humboldt, who stood outside the dominant framework of Enlightenment, considered thought in direct correlation with the emergence and the development of language, and even dependent on it. The transition from Foucault's 'classical' period to the 'modern' period is thus characterized by a shift from the universalism of thought that gets expression in pre-constituted system of signs to the relativity of thought with respect to the forward movement of what we, in our modern times, have got used to perceiving as well-bounded languages associated with specific peoples situated in particular geo-political spaces.

1. a. We have provided a rapid summary of some of the salient points concerning language as presented in Michel Foucault's **The Order of Things**. We shall return to the some more pertinent issues from this work later in this paper.

b. The birth of western modernity characterised by the Enlightenment philosophies, and that of philology, perhaps as a bye-product of the former, characterised among other things by the research and lectures of Sir William Jones at the Royal Asiatic Society in Calcutta, can be traced back to the same fateful decade of the 1780-s.

This shift, we can notice, on the other hand, is equally concomitant, if not with the emergence, then with the stabilization and consolidation of modern European (national) languages. British historian, Benedict Anderson, in his influential book, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (1983) presents a graphic and credible account of the emergence of modern national languages in relation to the material conditions that made it possible, and of how these languages served as the basis of the new national consciousness necessary for 'imagining' the new nation-states of modern Europe. Anderson tells us how the then nascent capitalism and print technology, prior to the emergence of distinct national consciousnesses and identities, created in Europe its early 'print-languages' along with what he calls 'monoglot mass reading publics'. The emergence of these pre-national 'print' languages, Anderson tells us, was at least initially, a 'gradual, un-self-conscious, pragmatic and haphazard development', resulting from the "half-fortuitous, but explosive, interaction between a system of productive relations (capitalism), a technology of communications (print), and the fatality of human linguistic diversity."² It was the function of capitalism and its main agent of cultural change, the print technology, to homogenise, as much as possible, the form of languages as well as the content of the discourses written in them to suit their own twin exigency of the adoption by populations of the new economic and social relations as well as the new technology of communication.

Anderson notes that what facilitated the formation of the modern national consciousnesses, is the sedimentation of intermediate languages 'below Latin and above the spoken vernaculars'³ by the gravitation of numerous dialects towards a central or would-be standard dialect, and by maintaining a distinction between one such cluster and another. In the process, intellectual cohesion was introduced within the reading public of one print-language, and a separation between two or more of such national communities made up of print reading publics.

The newly-cohered print-languages also turned out to be more stable in time. As a corollary to this, Anderson points out that "print-capitalism gave a new fixity to language, which in the long run helped to build the image of antiquity so central to the subjective idea of the nation."⁴ Furthermore, by displacing the hierarchically superior language of Latin as well as

2. Anderson, 1991 Edn. : 42-43.

3. Ibid., p. 44.

4. Ibid., p. 44.

the inferior dialects from the national arena, the print-languages also became effectively 'languages-of-power'. Unlike the old administrative languages, which were presumably handed down from above, the newly dominant languages apparently emerged as a result of competition between existing dialects and the success of certain of them which would be 'closer' (i.e., geographically or socially) to what would subsequently emerged as the national-print languages. According to Anderson, though the emergence of these culturally influential print-languages may have been haphazard, once they ascended to dominance they were imposed on the new national entities as a whole, in the name of promoting the national spirit.

By eighteenth century, the modern national 'print' languages had clearly been institutionalised in Europe.⁵ Besides, as noted by Anderson, the newspaper and the novel, the two important commercial and cultural products of capitalism and print technology, had, through the medium of these newly institutionalised languages had ushered in a new apprehension of time, bringing people outside of the traditional religious communities and the dynastic realms, and consolidating them under the new national 'imagination'. And, conversely, these newly dominant languages had become the chief markers of national identity in Europe.

3. Philology and the philosophies of linguistic identities and hierarchies

By the second half of the eighteenth century, even when the philosophy of enlightenment was reaching its summit in the works of Immanuel Kant, the question of language, especially that of the history of language in relation to human consciousness had acquired unprecedented importance. Kant's bridling of the Cartesian powers of human reason, in relation to the limits of the human cognitive apparatus, was not enough for his contemporaries such as Johann Georg Hamann and Johann Gottfried Herder. Hamann's opposition to enlightenment thought greatly influenced the *Sturm und Drang* and the Romantic Movement in Germany. To the enlightenment idea of the autonomy of reason, Hamann counterposed the significance of art, the role of subjectivity and language in human intellectual and aesthetic creations, and the social and historical underpinnings of human reason. As Frederick Beiser usefully informs us: "The metaphysical significance of art, the importance of the artist's personal vision, the irreducibility

5. The topic of the institution of modern European languages is so vast for us to be able to deal with here. We shall only cite a recent work on this: **L'institution des langues - Autour de Renée Balibar**, (Ed.) Sonia Branca-Rosoff. Paris: Editions des Maisons des Sciences de l'Homme. 2001.

of cultural differences, the value of folk poetry, the social and historical dimension of rationality, and the significance of language to thought - all these themes were prevalent in, or characteristic of the, *Sturm und Drang* and Romanticism. But they were first adumbrated by Hamann, and then elaborated and promulgated by Herder, Goethe, and Jacobi."⁶

Herder is arguably the most well-known German philosopher, after Kant, during this period. He almost single-handedly invented a philosophy of history, which remained the mainstay of European, especially German philosophy during most of the 19th century. In this article, we shall be concerned with his philosophy of language, and of mind, and its intersection with the philosophy of history.

Steering a middle course between the two horns of the Cartesian dilemma - whether the human mind is part of nature and therefore obeys mechanical laws or it is outside of nature possessing mystical properties, Herder opted for a vitalist theory of mind. We have to bear in mind that during the second half of the eighteenth century philosophy was increasingly weaning itself away from the grip of the physical and mechanical sciences of the 17th century, and had begun to depend more and more on the newly emerging life sciences. The paradigm of the eternal and immutable laws of physics was giving way to a perspective based in biological laws, which alone could account for growth and change. Life became a central organizing principle of the human reality, displacing to a great extent the belief in mechanical or the mystical / divine order. Accordingly, in Herder's vitalist philosophy, "mind is neither a machine nor a ghost, but a living organism."⁷

And moreover, Herder went on to explain the origin of human reason and language, in terms of the uniqueness of human life. Being inferior to other animals in his instincts and other bodily powers, for the sake of survival of the species, reason should have necessarily sprung in the human soul. Herder attributes the origin of both rational thought and language to a property he calls 'reflection':

Man, placed in the state of reflection which is peculiar to him, with this reflection for the first time given full freedom of action, did invent language Man manifests reflection when the force of his soul acts in such freedom that, in the vast ocean of sensations which permeates it through all the channels of the senses, he can,, single

6. Fredrick C. Beiser, 1987: 17.

7. Beiser, *ibid.*, p. 128.

out one wave, arrest it, concentrate its attention on it, and be conscious of being attentive. He manifests reflection when, confronted with the vast hovering dream of images which pass by his senses, he can collect himself into a moment of wakefulness and dwell at will on one image, can observe it clearly and more calmly, and can select in it distinguishing marks for himself so that he will know that this object is this and not another. He thus manifests reflection if he is able not only to recognise all characteristics vividly or clearly but if he can also recognise and acknowledge to himself one or several of them as distinguishing characteristics. The first act of this acknowledgement results in a clear concept; it is the first judgement of the soul - and through what did this acknowledgement occur? Through a distinguishing mark which he had to single out and which, as a distinguishing mark for reflection, struck him clearly. The first distinguishing mark as it appeared in his reflection, was a work of the soul! With it human language is invented!⁸

Herder conceives of language and reason as both co-originating and co-developing historically. Human thought needs language to gather and organise facts about the world. Historically, human beings constitute ever larger and ever more complex aggregates of thought, stored in language. As Herder puts it: "Each person constantly produces a big or a small wave, each one modifies the state of a single soul, leaving the totality of these states constantly acts upon another soul, is constantly modified somewhat into another - *the first thought of the first human soul is connected with the last thought of the last human soul*.".... And since language is the medium of these undulatory contacts, Herder remarks: ".... how great is the human language! A treasure of human thoughts where each in his own manner brings in something! The sum of the actions of all human souls."⁹ It is this ceaseless accruing from one generation to the succeeding one, and similarly, the transfer from one location to another, of knowledge and information encapsulated in language that aids human survival. Reason, from this perspective is the progressive organisation of knowledge for the benefit of humankind, and not an *a priori* originating principle of man.

Herder, at least to begin with, followed Kant's dictum that everything in nature has a history, but then went on to apply this principle not only to

8. Herder, J.G., "Essay on the Origin of Language." Tr. A. Gode in **On the Origin of Language**. New York: F. Ungar, 1966. pp. 115-116.

9. Herder, J.G., **Traité sur l'origine de langue**. Paris : Auber. 1977, p. 161. My translation and emphasis. This section of the Herder's **Essay** could not be located in the above-mentioned English translation.

physical phenomena but to human phenomena such as creations of mind and language. This is the basis of Herder's so-called 'genetic' method. As per this method, human artefacts are neither eternal nor anatural. Being organisms endowed with a natural life, they have a historical point of origin, and it is with respect to this point of origin that these artefacts can be understood, and not merely as natural objects possessing an eternal structure. In Herder's words: "Just as a tree grows from its roots, so art, language and science grow from their origins. In the seed there lies the creature with all its members; and in the origin of a phenomenon there lies all the treasure of its interpretation, through which our explanation of it becomes genetic."¹⁰

Let us summarise Herder's position. Though endowed with a certain 'plasticity' which alone is universally available for man, human artefacts such as language, rather than being eternal or god-given, are phenomena that originate historically, that is at a definite historical stage of human progress, and culturally, that is bearing traits of the cultural context where they appear. Again, though evolutionarily human language co-originated with reason or reflection, in actual fact there is a plurality of languages which have historically progressed along partly similar and partly divergent agglomerative lineages resulting in an inevitable, cultural and linguistic diversity. Thus, any human / mental phenomenon, especially language can be understood only in relation to its specific historical origin, and not in terms of universal properties. And since historical origin bears traces of the cultural characteristics accrued by any group of people, it alone can offer an interpretation of the contemporary phenomena. That is to say, only the origin, and not isolated facts nor an innate and universal structure provides clues to the understanding of human / mental phenomena.

Herder's principle of cultural and linguistic relativity thus denies any natural human essence, other than that of his plasticity, or the inherent ability to adapt to circumstances of cultural, climatic or geographical conditioning. The subjectivity or the mentality of an individual or a group of individuals is largely shaped by the cultural institutions, including the linguistic, that surround him / them. During the 18th century, in Europe, only nation and national consciousness could have been the organizing centre of this relativity principle. As Herder pithily put it: "Every nation has the centre of its happiness within itself just as every ball has its own centre of gravity."¹¹ And further, every nation has its own genius or given mental

10. Quoted in Beiser, *op cit.*, p. 142.

11. Quoted in Beiser, *op cit.*, p. 143.

characteristics, resulting from the particular conglomeration of its own people at its origin. The national genius would be the particular mental orientation of a people at the time of its emergence, and which is maintained as such in and through its own cultural / discursive institutions.¹² Though human language originates from a reason that is common for all human kind, there are particular languages, and hence particular consciousnesses, existing for particular national formations. Herder: "Just as a single humankind inhabits the whole earth, there is one single language for man. And just as this immense human race is divided into so many different nations, so is there a diversity of languages."¹³

Now, we know that Herder's 'genetic' method became the cornerstone of philology which prospered in European scholarship during almost the whole of the nineteenth century. Aptly, his influential follower, Wilhelm von Humboldt is better known as a philologist than a philosopher.¹⁴ Trends in comparative philology, which functioned on genetic / historical principles, and of which Humboldt was the main philosophical representative, greatly reinforced as we shall see, Herder's cultural and linguistic relativism, during the first half of 19th century.

According to Humboldt, language - as it is the product of reason - can come into existence only spontaneously as an organism possessing a structural totality. At the level of meaning, every language thus possesses an 'inner linguistic sense' (*innere spracheforme*) which is in part universal, and in part historically acquired. The diversity of languages, according to Humboldt, appears in a double way: first, as a 'phenomenon of natural history' and then, as an "intellectual and teleological phenomenon, as a cultural mode of nations, bearing a rich multiplicity and an enormous originality of intellectual productions resulting in the most intimate relation among the cultured part of humanity, because it is based on reciprocal feeling of

12. The idea of 'genius' in the sense of a national (mental) characteristic already occurs in Jean-Jacques Rousseau's, **Essai sur l'origine des langues** where 'passions' and not reason are claimed to be at the origin of language. According to Rousseau, the oriental languages were closest to this passionate origin: "The genius of the oriental languages, the oldest known, absolutely refutes the assumption of a didactic progression in their development. These languages were not at all systematic and rational. They are vital and figurative." (The passage is quoted from J. H. Moran's translation in **On the Origin of Language**. Moran's rendering of the word **genie** as **genesis**, has been corrected here to 'genius')

13. Herder, op cit., pp. 163-64. Translated from French by the present author.

14. And, moreover, Humboldt, because of his more comprehensive study of languages on the basis of certain methodological principles, is also known as the founder of 'general linguistics', a widely accepted term in the 20th century.

individuality."¹⁵ And as such, the history of languages cannot be understood in terms of a 'universal type of progress' which would explain particular languages. "Everywhere in language, historical movement is associated with the action of the national genius."¹⁶ What we notice in Humboldt's writings is an interchangeable use of terms such as 'genius', 'inner linguistic sense', 'national characteristic' and *weltanschauung*, the last being a German word, the origin of whose current use is associated with Humboldt himself.

It should be noted here that philology became, in the nineteenth century, a linguistically-based study of world's cultures - of the modern European national cultures and that of the others including those cultures newly colonized by the Europeans. It involved the study of languages as formal objects, the comparison and classification of languages that appeared to be closely related, identifying and 'reconstructing' historical sources or source-languages thus compared, attributing a specific and a well-bounded identity to the 'national consciousness' corresponding to the languages thus studied by the comparative method. Humboldtian philology, in fact moved a step further than producing a mere genealogical / historical typology of the world's languages.¹⁷ A grammatical or a 'morphological' typology was by and large Humboldt's introduction. According to this classification, the world's languages fall into three of four 'grammatical' types. These are, following the order of the hierarchy, the inflecting, the agglutinating, the isolating, and the incorporating types of languages. The 'classical' languages belonging to the Indo-European 'family' of languages, Sanskrit, Greek and Latin have 'inflecting' type of structure and are held to be at the top of the hierarchy.¹⁸ Though the British colonial administrator-scholar William

15. Humboldt, W. von, **Sur le caractère nationale des langues et autre écrits sur le langage**. (Ed.) Denis Thouard. Paris: Seuil, 2000. p. 75. (translation from French by the present author)

16. Humboldt, W. von, **De l'origine des formes grammaticales**. Paris : Editions Ducros. 1969. p. 13. (Translation from French by the present author; emphasis added)

17. One of Humboldt's most important innovation in this respect is the 'genealogical tree' model of classifying languages historically. Languages, it is true, were seen as organisms, but as having forms more of a botanical kind. Hence the preponderance of botanical metaphorically used terms like root, stem, morph, tree, etc., in modern Linguistics.

18. The so-called inflecting languages were reckoned to be superior by the German Romantics, because of their assumed 'organic' structure. In these languages, the root elements were seen to have a system of internal modifications for declensions, while the other agglutinating, and isolating were assumed to have a 'mechanical' and 'atomistic' structures for their declensions. In her illuminating work **Les métaphores de l'organisme** (1971), Judith Schlanger notes that for the Romantics, the 'organism' as opposed to the machine, was a figure of the higher degree of rational

Jones had asserted the family relationship between Sanskrit, Greek and Latin, and the superiority of Sanskrit among these, it was the later philologists like Humboldt who would place the idea of this superiority on a scientific pedestal. In Humboldt's words:

"The Sanskrit language is among the world's known languages, the most ancient and the first to possess a proper system of grammatical forms, and along with this an organisation so excellent and so complete The Semitic languages are placed next to it. But, undoubtedly, it is the Greek language that has attained the highest structural perfection."¹⁹

Alas! Adopting a perspective on the history of languages that is often described as Darwinian if not proto- or pre-Darwinian, and by superimposing a morphological typology upon a genealogical typology, comparative philology presented to the world of modern scholarship what seems to have been a potent racist potion!²⁰

The idea of superiority of certain language/s over others has a long history. In the pre-modern period, the languages of religion (e.g., Hebrew, Latin, Sanskrit or Arabic) or of classical literature (e.g., Greek) were naturally taken as superior. From 17th century onwards, this transcendental principle of superiority begins to give way to principles of reason and historicity. Let us see how Leibniz formulated this problem with his project of studying the "Harmony of languages."²¹

and spiritual systematicity, as well as, evolution of a language. The assumed importance of the connection between organicity and language is revealed in the following statement from F. Schlegel: "In the Indian language [i.e., Sanskrit] and Greek, each root is truly, as the term itself indicates, a sort of a **living germ**." (Emphasis and translation from French are mine) The quote is from F. Schlegel's **Über die Sprache und Weisheit de Indien** (1808), Fr. Trs., A. Mazure, **Essai sur la langue et la philosophie des Indiens**, Paris, 1837, p. 47.

19. Op cit., p. 57. (Translation by the present author)

20. Besides Herder and Humboldt themselves, the other German Romantics, A. Schleicher, and the two Schlegels (Friedrich and August von) actively participated in erecting the 'modern' apparatus (which is still in circulation) of cultural and linguistic hierarchization.

21. Our account below is based on Leibniz, G. W., **L'Harmonie des langues**, introduced, translated and edited by Marc Crépon (2000). This bilingual book contains three essays on the German language and on the relationship between languages, written by Leibniz between 1679 and 1710.

There exists a common (rational) understanding for mankind. Languages are the mirror of understanding. A language can be perfect to the extent understanding can be perfect with the help of it. Thus there is the possibility of a common perfect language either in the past or in the future. The idea of Hebraic monogenesis of all languages, that is to say, the hypothesis that Hebrew is the mother-language of all peoples was already being questioned in 17th century. Simultaneously, there was enquiry into the common origin of European and certain Asian languages such as Persian. Here, the hypothesis regarding the Scythian origin of the European languages was the most prominent. And finally, there was also the "nationalist hypothesis" of linguistically tracing the path traversed by various European peoples from the borders of the Black Sea to their current geographical regions.

Leibniz's own research into the *Characteristicae universalis* (the universal alphabet / language of thought) was intended to yield a language, not so remote from the 'Adamic' original language, which would be the hypothetical mother-language, the most natural and perfect. The perfect language was supposed to contain the best fusion of sound and idea, i.e., perfect onomatopoeia. The measure of the distance - geographical, temporal or structural - of any given language was correlated with the distance from what would be the perfect language. It was also believed to be the measure of the purity or corruption of that language with respect to the assumed perfect language. In the German philological / philosophical scholarship from Leibniz to Humboldt and perhaps even beyond, after Hebrew and Latin had been chased out of their 'superior' positions, the claim was made regarding the proximity of the German language to the perfect language, be it Adamic, universal, Greek or Sanskrit. And hence, it is assumed superiority over other contemporary languages of Europe and elsewhere.

Naturality, originality, purity and superiority were the qualities that were being claimed for the newly emerging national languages of Europe. In this respect, they were displacing the earlier languages of religion, while not being completely de-linked from them. These qualities, we may say, constituted for the pioneer nationalists the 'genius' of their language, and by extension, of their nation and their people. If these properties, in their development or in their proper maintenance, were in any way being hampered or prevented, it was the duty of the concerned people to defend, preserve and cultivate them.²² These tasks indicated by these three words

22. In this context, it is worth mentioning a recent work by an Indian historian, Sumathi Ramaswamy, **Passions of the Tongue - Language Devotion in Tamil India, 1891-1970**. Ramaswamy's thesis is that linguistic nationalism of the Tamil people in

we have italicised, were seen in the context of the modern nations, as the duties of their people towards their own languages, with respect to their present, past and future.²³

4. Nietzsche's genealogy and the critique of philology

Foucault, in the same paragraph that we cited above from *The Order of Things* speaks of how it became necessary for scholars to get out of the "trap of philology", i.e., out of the habitual modes of thinking imposed by the very structure of grammar itself, and to resort to a mode of exegesis. The need was

".... to work one's way back from opinions, philosophies, and perhaps even sciences, to the words that made them possible, and, beyond that, to a thought whose essential life has not yet been caught in the network of any grammar. This is how we must understand the revival, so marked in the nineteenth century, of all the techniques of exegesis But now it is not a matter of rediscovering some primary word that has been buried in it, but of disturbing the words we speak, of denouncing the grammatical habits of our thinking, of dissipating the myths that animate our words, of rendering once more the noisy

southern India took the form of an obligatory devotion for the Tamil language on the part of the people of lower castes in opposition to the Sanskrit language of the high caste Brahmans, which was perceived as dominant and repressive. The figure of the **Tamilttāy** (Mother Tamil) combined the 'national' identity of the backward caste Tamil people and the Tamil language raised to the status of a female divinity. As Ramaswamy puts it: "Tamil devotion would remain simply a rehearsal of Europe's linguistic history if all that happens to Tamil in the course of being drawn into various structures of modernity is its recasting as 'mother tongue', **tāymoli**. Yet this is not only the kind of feminization that the language undergoes within the regimes of **tamilparru** [Tamil loyalty]. For lurking in the shadows of the 'mother tongue', but frequently disrupting its hegemonic claim on Tamil, is **Tamilttāy** (...), the apotheosis of the language as goddess, queen, mother, and maiden." What prompts Ramaswamy's feminist intervention in the history of the Tamil movement is that ".... in the discourses of Tamil devotees, there is a ready slippage between **tamil**, **Tamilttāy**, **tāyppāl**, mother's milk, **tāy**, mother, and **tāymoli**, 'mother tongue', all of which over time came to be synonymous with each other." (Ramaswamy, 1998: 17)

23. Marc Crépon in his fascinating recent work, **Le malin génie des langues (Nietzsche, Heidegger, Rosenzweig)** (2000) notes that the "notion of 'genius' was not only the property that urged one to defend, preserve, cultivate [one's language]. It was also that which made it exigent to be best acquainted with what is beyond the borders of the community. For the "we" which is visualised in the genius of one's language, the latter constituted the promise of an eternal recognition: 'We the French, the Germans, the Italians, we shall always be existing, exactly as we are, to the extent we would have given to the world an immortal work, a living testimony of the genius of 'our' language'." (p. 10)

and audible the elements of silence that all discourse carries with as it is spoken."²⁴

In his usual cryptic style, Foucault then goes on to emphasize the hermeneutic disposition of three great critical thinkers of modern times:

"The first book of *Das Kapital* is an exegesis of 'value'; all Nietzsche is an exegesis of a few Greek words; Freud, the exegesis of all unspoken phrases that support and at the same time undermine our apparent discourse, our fantasies, our dreams, our bodies. Philology, as the analysis of what is said in the depths of discourse, has become the modern form of criticism."²⁵

Of these, Nietzsche, on whom we shall focus, was indeed a philologist-turned-philosopher and a critical thinker. In fact, much of his critical philosophy is based on a reappraisal of the basic assumptions of philology. Nietzsche refused to accept the naturalness, originality and superiority of modern languages, especially of German language, with which he was directly concerned. His views on the origin of language, question the very premises of a Herderian philosophy of language which is rooted in the historical evolution of man's rationality and in the cumulative human cultural progress. Nietzsche, on his part, is interested in linking the origin of language to aesthetics, particularly to music. He is, in fact, concerned with the progressive loss of this link. Secondly, he maintains that no language originates naturally, bearing a direct / true relationship with the external world. Languages are entirely of cultural and 'metaphorical' origin, and hence there cannot be any formal correspondence between the language of morality of any given society, and the referents of this language. Moral values are established and maintained in / by language, as a matter of social / political force, and not as disinterested and 'true' forms. It is this force that Nietzsche refers to by his expression, the 'will to power'. His 'genealogy of morals' is an attempt to understand the particular cultural origin of moral values, which in turn depends on an active or a reactive force, the latter manifesting itself as 'ressentiment'. These two types of opposing forces in society, for Nietzsche, correspond to the 'aristocratic' and 'slave' moralities respectively.

According to Nietzsche, language is derived not from a cognitive / rational essence but from an aesthetic / sensible source. The deep level of

24. Foucault, 1966 / 1970 Edn.: 298-299.

25. Ibid., p. 299.

language, is characterised by a 'tonality' which is a mode of responding to the experiences in the world. This tonality is more primitive than even the musical art. This 'tonal background' of language, constitutes some sort of an "original melody of affects," that is to say, the domain of rhythms and pulsations, in response to the "fluctuations of the intensity of human desire."²⁶ This 'melody' is in its turn the 'echo' of sensations of pleasure and displeasure which comprise the universal of desire. For, Nietzsche, language can be a 'symbol' only as a radically impoverished replica of the world. It is analogical without ever being imitation. Language can only be a "musical" or "Dionysian" "mirror of the world" (*Abbild*). 'Symbolising' meant for Nietzsche, analogical reproduction, but accompanied by progressive loss of exactness of correspondence. And moreover, language and music are intimately related since both are "encoding of affects." As per this schema, the more language becomes symbolic, the more it becomes devoid of its original force of desire, which as we just saw, is part of language as tonality, a tonality that is anterior to music itself.

Similarly, there is a loss of the originality of sense in language through progressive metaphorization, a topic dealt with in Nietzsche's *Truth and lie in an extra-moral sense*. He envisages in language two levels of 'transposition' with respect to sensory experience. Firstly, all perceptual experience is 'metaphorical' or is transposition. The intuitive images of an object, because it is mediated by a nervous excitation is already a transposition of our sensory contact with the world. Secondly, there is another type of transposition which produces words and concepts, which are metaphors totally abstract and arbitrary with respect to the first set of metaphors. Because, there is such a progressive leap from one level of metaphoricity to the next in our use of language from his point of view, Nietzsche categorically rejects any 'naturalness' of language. On the other hand, but for the same reason he would insist on the 'artistic' activity of the human subject at the origin of language. It is however necessary that this 'artistry' or this invention of a 'fiction' is forgotten, for words and their meanings to acquire a certain amount of generality and objectivity. A forgetting of the primitive world of metaphors, and of the artistic subjectivity of the human inventors of the fiction of language, is a prerequisite for the functioning of a logic of truth, as well as of a metaphysics. Through the forgetting of the human inventive acts, and of the infinitely differentiating sensible experience, language becomes the auto-dissimulation of the creative state from which it

26. The expression from Nietzsche's *Posthumous Fragments* (number 12) is quoted here from M. Haar, *Nietzsche et la métaphysique*, 1993, pp. 110-111. This paragraph and the next are closely derived from Haar's text.

emerges. And moreover, because of the repeated use within the context of a given social community, of the most conventionalised metaphors, it becomes impossible to rediscover the working of the convenient fictions that make up the account that we provide of our lived world. Our language and our discourse, from this perspective, are made up of worn-out metaphors deprived of any living sense. The language that is available for our day-to-day use, and the discourse that we ordinarily construct with it, as per this analysis, can be nothing but a socially acceptable lie which fosters and maintains the mentality of the herd in a given community.

Nietzsche believes that the prevalent moral paradigms of the west, whether coming from post-Socratic Greek ontology, puritan Judeo-Christian religions based on the value of suffering, or modern science with its joyless epistemology, signify the triumph of the 'slave' morality with its reactive forces, over the more artistic, 'Dionysian' spirit that had thrust itself upon the world with its own 'will to power'. In order to overcome the nihilism imposed by these paradigms on the western world, he suggests the recovery of the active forces, rejection of the dominant ethical and ontological paradigms, and a constant renewal, on the basis of will to power of our static interpretations, of our physical and moral world, in favour of a world where the uncertainty and the instability of art will have precedence over the stagnant permanence of knowledge and truth.

With the aid of his philological insight, Nietzsche is able to argue that language is the locus of conflict of power. The moral terms, such as 'good' and 'evil' he notes, have undergone significant shifts in their meaning since their original Greek coinage. The word, 'good' was not introduced by the beneficiaries of 'non-egoistic' actions, to refer to the agents of these actions. "Rather, the 'good' themselves - that is, the noble, the powerful, the superior, and the high-minded - were the ones who felt themselves to be good - that is, as of the first rank - and posited them as such, in contrast to everything low, low-minded, common, and plebeian."²⁷ With the revolt of the slaves in the ancient society, the weak began to use this term to denote themselves, and the word 'evil' to refer to the strong and powerful. Nietzsche points out that struggles over opposing value systems, which manifest as conflict of interpretations is a permanent feature of human societies. And if that is so, any ontological description of the world, social world included, can be always subjected to a philologically-based critique, which is precisely what yields the genealogy of morals, a pre-requisite for the transformation of the cultural domain. For Nietzsche, all ontology is

27. Nietzsche, F., *On the Genealogy of Morals*, p. 12.

interpretation, and genealogy reveals the relationship between forces of power and the emergence of particular interpretations.

It is important to note here that Nietzsche shares with the Romantics like Herder an interest in 'life' over machine. But, he does not limit to eulogising the progressively organic character of human phenomena like language and mind. Quest for 'health' replaces the Darwinian perspective of mere 'survival'. Nietzsche is concerned with the 'healthy' and joyful life of individuals as against decadent and nihilistic existence of the herd-like community. Such a life is possible only by 'destroying' the life-denying metaphysical discourses (religious, moral and even philosophical) that surround us and that play a determining role in producing our subjectivity. It is our 'will to power' that can, by inducing a differential between the active and the reactive forces in society, create ever-new alternative interpretations to guide our lives. As Nietzsche ponders in the opening sentence of the second essay of his *On the Genealogy of Morals*:

The breeding of an animal which is entitled to make promises - is it not the paradoxical task that nature has before itself with respect to man? Is this not the real problem which man not only poses, but faces also?²⁸

What we notice is that, in several of his writings Nietzsche is proposing a break with the historicism, so dear to the philologists.²⁹ He stresses on the importance of 'active forgetfulness': "The temporary shutting of the doors and windows of consciousness, guaranteed freedom from disturbance by the noise and struggle caused by our underworld of obedient organs as they cooperate with and compete against one another; a little silence, a little *tabula rasa* of consciousness, making room for the new, making room above all for the superior functions and functionaries such is the use of active

28. "'Guilt', 'Bad Conscience' and Related Matters", Second Essay of **On the Genealogy of Morals**, Nietzsche, Friedrich, Tr. D. Smith. Oxford University Press, 1996 Edn., p. 39.

29. Nietzsche says in his "On the Use and Disadvantages of History for Life" : "We need history, certainly, but we need it for reasons different from those for which the idler in the garden of knowledge needs it, even though he may look nobly down on our rough and charmless needs and requirements . We need it, ..., for the sake for life and action, not so to turn comfortably away from life and action , let alone for the purpose of extenuating the self-seeking life and the base and cowardly action. We want history only to the extent that history serves life: for it is possible to value the study of history to such a degree that life becomes stunted and degenerate - a phenomenon we are now forced to acknowledge, painful though this may be, in the face of striking symptoms of our age." (F. Nietzsche, **Untimely Meditations**, Cambridge University Press. Tr. R.J. Hollingdale. 1983 Edn., p. 59)

forgetfulness"³⁰ However, against this natural ability, Nietzsche suggests that man has invented a counter-faculty of 'memory' owing to which he "himself must have become calculable, regular, necessary even to his own mind, so that finally he would be able to vouch for himself as future, in the way that someone making a promise does."³¹ In his view there has been a long period in human history, characterized by the 'morality of custom' (a work of man upon himself), which has made man "necessary, uniform, an equal among equals, regular and consequently calculable."³² At the end of this process, however, Nietzsche visualizes "the *sovereign individual*, the individual who resembles no one but himself, who has once again broken away from the morality of custom, the autonomous supra-moral individual - in short, the man with his own independent, enduring will, the man who is entitled to make promises."³³ What Nietzsche envisages in these texts, is a prophetic shift from the man who makes promises without being entitled to do so, i.e., a man bred by the 'morality of custom', to a man who is a "liberated man, who is really entitled to make promises, the master of free will, this sovereign".³⁴

5. Derrida: 'Monolingualism of the Other'

Jacques Derrida reintroduces the subject of 'promise' in a recent work,³⁵ which while taking an autobiographical path, deals centrally with questions of language identity, appropriation, and belonging. Whereas for Nietzsche 'promise' is an 'entitlement' acquired along with one's liberation from herd morality, and regarded as an ability marking one's sovereignty, for Derrida, promise is more strictly embedded in linguistic considerations. Or rather, it is an act of language, which privileges the language of the other, and which simultaneously tends towards the 'other' of any language. Thus, it is a central aspect of a politics of language.

However strongly we adhere to the notions - so dear to the philosophical nationalisms of nineteenth century - of identity, appropriation, and belonging, usually associated with one's 'mother tongue', it is not difficult

30. Nietzsche, *On the Genealogy of Morals*, op. cit., p. 39.

31. Ibid., p. 40.

32. Ibid., p. 40.

33. Ibid., p. 41.

34. Ibid., p. 41.

35. Derrida, Jacques, 1996. *Le Monolingualisme de l'autre*. Paris: Galilée. Eng. Tr. *Monolingualism of the Other OR The Prosthesis of Origin*. Tr. P. Mensah. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1998.

to see on closer examination, their vacuousness. As per the conventional, i.e., mainly modern understanding, languages are supposed to have distinct boundaries, and hence a distinct identity with respect to other languages. This makes language seem like an entity that can be possessed as a property, by its users. The belief in the property-hood of language, Derrida goes on to show, is hardly tenable. Language cannot be a natural property, since its property-hood is dependent on law, whose cultural constitution is the prerogative of others (and not of the self who 'possesses' it). This is what prompts Derrida to make the oxymoronic statement that disturbs his own 'monolingualism': 'I only have one language, yet it is not mine'.

And moreover, it is the inappropriability of language that poses itself as a threat to its own integrity. It is perceived not only as an object "to be promoted and developed, but also something to be protected and saved. It becomes an object not only an instrument of salvation but its very element: that which saves in the process of being saved."³⁶ It is the same inappropriability that leads to the madness of nationalist phantasms around the glory of and threat to, one's own language.

From a second perspective, still conventional, a language will be a common property shared by all its users. Combining these perspectives, Derrida criticises of the myth of the 'uni-identity' (*unidentité*) of language: language is neither 'one' (*une*) nor is it 'common' (*commune*). What is not acceptable here is the idea of the homogeneity of language, both internal to itself, and to its users on the whole: the idea that language is an undifferentiated whole, available as such for all those who are identified with it.

In the autobiographical section of his *Monolingualism of the Other*, Derrida take us through an excursus of his experience of what he calls a 'disorder of identity'.³⁷ The French-speaking Sephardic Jewish community in Algeria to which he belonged, and which had been accorded French citizenship by the Cremieux decree in 1870, were deprived of it between 1941 and 1943, in the midst of the Nazi occupation of France.³⁸ Abolition of

36. Crépon, Marc, "What We Demand from languages" in Manjali, F. (Ed.) **Beyond the Linguistic Turn**. (forthcoming). Also, "Ce qu'on demande des langues" in Crépon, M., **Les promesses du langage** (2002).

37. Ibid., Chapter 3, p. 14.

38. Derrida informs us that Nazi-backed French government headed by Petain abolished the French citizenship of the Jews in Algeria, even though it was not in any way prompted by the German dictatorship. As he puts it with the most poignant effect: "Algeria has never been occupied. I mean that if it has ever been occupied, the German Occupation was never responsible for it. The withdrawal of French citizenship from the Jews of Algeria, with everything that followed, was the deed of the French alone. They decided that all by themselves, in their heads; they must have dreaming about it all along; they implemented it all be themselves." (Ibid., p. 16)

the right to be French, meant for the French-speaking Jews of Algeria, no language to be had as theirs, or for them to belong to. Not Hebrew, the language of Jewish religion, not Yiddish, the language of the Ashkenazi Jews of Eastern Europe, and not Arabic, or Berber, the two 'native' languages of Algeria. Derrida describes the cultural and linguistic plight of this Jewish community:

".... here was a disintegrated "community," cut up and cut off. This "community" will have been three times dissociated by what, a little hastily, we are calling interdicts. (1) First of all, it was cut off from both Arabic or Berber (....) language and culture. (2) It was cut off from French, and even European language and culture, which, from this point of view, only constituted, a distanced pole or metropole, heterogeneous to its history. (3) It was cut off, finally, or to begin with, from Jewish memory, and from the history and language that one must presume to be their own, but which, at a certain point, no longer was. At least not in a typical way for the majority of its members, and not in a sufficiently 'lively' and internal way."³⁹

A state of thus having no 'mother tongue' to belong to, Derrida notes, though might seem like a special case of the Jews in Algeria, is in reality the general condition of all situations of language use. One's own language is not a natural property, he continues to insist, just as language cannot be anything natural. Since language is never an individual property, and is something inevitably shared by a small or large group of individuals, it is always guided by implicit or explicit laws of interdiction: "You shall use only the language that is shared by all members of a community, and that in a manner acceptable by all. And correlatively, you shall not introduce as far as possible any foreign elements into your language, and you shall always protect your language from all foreign interference, as well as protect and promote its interests." However, the question to be posed is: where do the laws of linguistic interdiction come from? They come as part of a hegemonic politics that informs the collective use of every language. The laws regarding what constitutes a language are culturally laid down - in spite of me, outside of me, before me and for me - just at the same moment as language is made the medium of law. All that is 'cultural', Derrida would say, emanates from elsewhere, and is indeed colonial: "A coloniality of culture, and, without a doubt, also of hospitality when the latter conditions and auto-limits itself into a law, however 'cosmopolitan'"⁴⁰ Therefore, one is

39. Ibid., p. 55.

40. Ibid., pp. 24-25.

able to declare: "I have only one language and it is not mine; my 'own' language is, for me, a language that cannot be assimilated. My language, the only one I hear myself speak and agree to speak, is the language of the other."⁴¹

However evident this political fact of always speaking the language of the other, one cannot avoid, while speaking a language, being subjected to "an immanent structure of promise or desire, an expectation without a horizon of expectations"⁴² When I am speaking in a language, I am also implicitly promising that I shall continue to speak in nothing but that language, and thus will maintain the integrity of that language, rather than disturb it. Thus there is an implicit agreement on the law that governs the sphere of my language. Since the sphere of my language is always potentially threatened by what is outside of it, or what it is not, there is in my use of it, always and already a promise about where I shall be taking it. "As soon as I speak, before even formulating a promise, an expectation, or a desire as such, and when I still do not know what will happen to me or what awaits me at the end of a sentence, neither who nor what awaits whom or what, I am within this promise or this threat - which, from then on, gathers the language together, the promised or threatened language"⁴³

Now, the most crucial question that Derrida poses for a 'cultural' politics of language is this: how can we, in each act of language, promise a language that does not necessarily fall within the sphere of the language imposes itself as an object of identification and appropriation? How can we promise a language beyond the 'uni-identity' (*unidentité*) of the language imposed upon us from outside, and appears as always and already present for us? This can be done, according to Derrida, only by inventing in one's own language, "inventing a language different enough to disallow its own re-appropriation within the norms, the body, and the law of the given language"⁴⁴, a language that is "*prior-to-the-first* language" which exists only in anticipation. This language would be a 'promised language'.⁴⁵

The other name for this 'invention' in one's own language, of the language of the other, which would also be the 'prior-to-the-first' language, is

41. Ibid., p. 25.

42. Ibid., p. 21.

43. Ibid., p. 22.

44. Ibid., p. 66.

45. Ibid., p. 61.

translation. Derrida tends to equate this invention with translation, "the translation of a language that does not as yet exist, and that will never have existed, in any given target language."⁴⁶ In a brilliant essay, "The Task of the Translator,"⁴⁷ Walter Benjamin, had studied the nature of these difficult connections. According to Benjamin, there is in all creative language activity, including translation, something like a 'pure language' "that cannot be communicated," and which is part of the "evolving of the languages themselves."⁴⁸ This pure language, messianic in its existence and content, is that which cannot be captured faithfully in any faithful renderings, but which moves back and forth between the source and target languages, in their mutual contact and evolution. It is a language that is outside of all given languages; it is no one's language. Benjamin: "It is the task of the translator to release in his own language that pure language which is under the pure spell of another, to liberate the language imprisoned in his re-creation of that work. For the sake of pure language, he breaks through the barriers of his own language."⁴⁹ In this sense, the work of translation would be to pursue the pure language which would 'shine upon the original', without there being an ultimate language of arrival. Through the medium of the pure language, in what would be an instance of good translation, Benjamin says: "meaning plunges from abyss to abyss until it threatens to become lost in the bottomless depths of language."⁵⁰

Mono-language of the other, promise, invention and translation. What do these mean with reference to the category or state of what we call a 'language'? Firstly, the impossibility of a stable and static identity for any language. Languages whose identity we take for granted are constantly made to differ from themselves. They differ in the direction of other languages, and in the direction of an ever-deferred language that does not yet exist and will never exist. A state of language is never arrived at. Secondly, a language can never be the property of anyone. Instead of a language that is appropriated by the self, there can only be a language that is promised to the other. This would be a language that one can only forever give, but never a given language. One translates one's own language into one's own

46. *Ibid.*, p. 65.

47. Benjamin, Walter, *Illuminations*, (Tr.) H. Zorn. London: Pimlico. 1999 Edn. 70-82.

48. *Ibid.*, p. 80.

49. *Ibid.*, p. 80.

50. *Ibid.*, p. 82.

'idiom', one marks it with one's 'signature'.⁵¹ This idiom and this signature are headed for a language that is ultimately impossible. And the translation involved here is an "untranslatable translation." At the same time, Derrida argues, "this untranslatable translation, this new idiom makes things happen, this signature brought forth, produces, events in the given language, the given language to which things must still be given, sometimes unverifiable events: illegible events. Events that are always promised rather than given. Messianic events. But the promise not nothing; it is not a non-event."⁵²

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51. For a more useful account of Derrida's notions of 'idiom' and 'signature' in relation to language, see E. Grossman's interview with him in **Europe - Paul Celan**, 861-862: pp. 81-91. Derrida says with reference to the German Jewish poet, Paul Celan: "What I have tried to think is an idiom (and idiom means clearly an individual **property**, what is one's own) and a signature within the idiom of language, which is seen at the same time as the experience of the inappropriability of language. I believe that Celan has attempted a mark, a unique signature which was a counter-signature of the German language and at the same time something that **happens (arrive)** to the German language" (p. 83)

52. Derrida, 1998 Edn. p. 66.

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DRAVIDIAN PERSONAL PRONOUNS (THE INTERPLAY OF SOUND CHANGE AND ANALOGY)

P.S. SUBRAHMANYAM

Bangalore

Introduction

0.1 In Dravidian, the personal pronouns (1st sg., 1st pl. (excl.), 1st pl. (incl.), 2nd sg. and 2nd pl.) and the reflexive pronouns share a number of characteristic features.¹ In their reconstructed form, all of them are monosyllabic with the shape CV:C; the final consonant in them signifies number with -n for the singular and -m for the plural.² This plural suffix, being less common, is "strengthened" by the addition of the more common noun plural suffix in some of the languages; in the case of the nominative form of the 2nd plural pronoun, an alternative form **ni:r*, in which -m is replaced by the more common -r has been created at the Proto-Dravidian stage itself (see §5.2). Their oblique bases, i.e., those variants of them that occur before a

1. The form given in parentheses after a pronoun in the lists is its corresponding oblique base. Note that in Tamil, Malayalam, Kannada and Kodagu, the final consonant (i.e., n/n/m) of the oblique base (of the personal and the reflexive pronouns) remains single before the dative suffix (e.g., Ta. *en-akku* 'to me', *em-akku* 'to us (excl.)', Ka. *nan-age* 'to me', *nam-age* 'to us') but is doubled before other case suffixes and postpositions that begin with a vowel (e.g., *enn-a:l* 'by me', *enn-iṭam* 'with me', Ka. *nann-annu* 'me', *nann-a* 'my', *namm-alli* 'among us'). However, the doubling is absent in Tamil before the genitive *-a(tu)* (e.g., *en-atu* 'my', *nam-atu* 'our (incl.)') but it occurs before *-uṭaiya* of the same case (e.g., *enn-uṭaiya* 'my', *namm-uṭaiya* 'our (incl.)'). Those forms that are not found in DR (= Burrow and Emeneau 1984) are taken from the source works of the respective languages (the Badaga forms are taken from Emeneau 1967a: 391). The new sigilla that are used here (for various dialects of Gondi) and the works they stand for are the following: B. = Bhattacharya 1968 (Muria), N. = Natarajan 1985 (Abujhmara), NM. = Nimsarkar 1991 (Maḍia of Gadchiroli), U. = Umamaheswara Rao 1987 (several dialects). [This paper is a revised version of Subrahmanyam 1993.]

2. -n and -m as singular and plural suffixes respectively occur only in the personal and the reflexive pronouns, in the personal suffixes of the verbs in the 1st person (in the 2nd person plural also -m occurs in spoken Tamil and Kota, see note 15) and in the predicate nominals (or appellative verbs) of some languages like Old Tamil, Old Kannada (Kittel 1903/1982: 136-37) and Telugu with 1st person suffixes, e.g., Old Ta. *ya:n pent-e:n* 'I am a woman', *ya:m pentir-e:m* 'we are women' (Ramaswami Aiyar 1938: 776-77).

non-nominative case suffix including its representation by zero differ from the corresponding nominative forms only in having a short vowel of the same quality instead of the long vowel. This shortening is a unique morphophonemic phenomenon of these pronouns since other words that come under the class of nouns do not show such an alternation, for example, Ta. ma:n-ai 'deer (accusative)' from ma:n (not *mann-ai). It does not seem to be directly related to the shortening of the vowel or a double consonant of the root that takes place when it is followed by a meaningless derivative element in the process of extending the base (see §1.5).

0.2. Even the oblique bases found in the Telugu-Kuwi subgroup, which are of the shape CV:- and, as such, appear at first sight to be not related to the corresponding forms in the other subgroups are explainable as the end products of the operation of metathesis, which after all occurs only in this subgroup (see §1.7 and the other relevant sections). It is important to note, in retrospect, that Professor Burrow long ago gave this explanation for the plural pronouns of this subgroup (see note 26).

0.3. Being the more commonly occurring one than the nominative form in discourse, the oblique base, which occurs in all the oblique cases and before the postpositions, exerts analogical influence on the corresponding nominative form, which is confined only to the subject position, in either of two ways. The nominative form is forced to take on a consonant in the initial position so as to resemble more closely its corresponding oblique base; this happens in some languages of the Telugu-Kuwi subgroup (see §6.4). The other process, which is more drastic than this, is the replacement of the nominative form by the oblique form; this is found in many languages throughout the family (see §6.5). The stability of the oblique base as opposed to the vulnerability of the nominative form to pressure from the former is best illustrated by the multitude of Gondi dialects, which show a uniform oblique base but a variety of nominative forms. The present study affords clear-cut instances of analogical modification of forms that are derived through sound change within a close-knit grammatical category.

1. First Person Singular Pronoun (DR 5160)

1.1. Ta. (Old) ya:n, (later) na:n (en-)

Ma. ña:n, (early inscriptional) na:n (en-)

Ir. na: (nan-)

A:lu-Kurumba na:(nu) (enna-)

Kod. na:(ni) (en-, nan-, na:-)

Ko. a:n (en-)

To. o:n (en-)

Ka. (Old) a:n (en-), (later) na:n(u) (nan-)

Badaga na: (en-)

Tu. (NB.& S.) e:ni (en(a)-), (NC.) ya:ni ([S.] enna, [N.] ena-/ yana-; [all dialects] eη- before dat. -ki)

Koraga ya:ni (an(n)-, accus. an-ni/ana-nu, gen. ann-a)

Te. (Old) e:nu, (Old & later) ne:nu (na:-; but [Old] nan(n)u- before accus. -n(u), [Mod.] accus. form nannu)

Go. (Tr.) ana:, (emph.) anna:, (W., L., Maḍia NM, Asu.) nanna:,(M., L.) nana:, (SR., Y., Ma.) nana, (Abujh Maria N) nan(n)a:, (Muria S., Koya Su.) nanna (na:-; Koya Su. accus. na:n-in)

Konḍa na:n(u) (na:-; accus.-dat. form na-ηi)

Pe. a:n(eη) (na:-; accus.-dat. form naη-geη)

Mand. a:n (na:-; accus.-dat. form na-ηi)

Kui a:nu, (K.) na:nu (na:-)

Kuwi na:nu (na:-; accus. na:n-a?ā/ na-ηgo/ na-ηge, dat. na-ηge)

Kol. Nk. Pa. Ga. a:n (an-)

Kur. Malt. e:n (eng-)

Br. i: (kan-)

PDr. *ya:n̄ (*yan̄-).

1.2. All the 1st person singular nominative forms (except that of Brahui) can be explained as ultimately derived from PDr. *ya:n̄. In Old Tamil, there are about ten words with an initial y and in these the vowel that follows it is invariably a: (cf. a:vo:t allatu yakara mutala:tu 'y will not begin (a word) except with a:', *Tolka:ppiyam*, *Eluttatika:ram*, su:tra 65; also Burrow 1968:113-49). The sequence *ya:- changes to e: in Tuḷu³, Telugu, Kuṛux and Malto and to a: in the rest of the languages including later Tamil and pre-Toda. To. o:n, from pre-To. *a:n (PSDr./PDr. *ya:n̄) shows a regular

3. The common dialect form with an initial y may not be a direct retention of the reconstructed form since an initial *y is not retained in Tuḷu in any other word; the y in it may just be a variant of ye:, i.e., e: with the on-glide y.

development since PDr. *a: (long) is retained in Toda only before *-ay but it changes to o: in all other environments (Subrahmanyam 1983, §5.2); cf. To. ka:k 'crow': Ta. ka:kkay (DR 1425) but To. o:L 'man': Ta. a:l (DR 399); To. po:n 'sky': Ta. va:n(am) (DR 5381).

1.3. Regarding the history of Br. i:, Emeneau (1962:15) observes: 'We cannot explain on the basis of regular correspondences either the loss of -n in Br. i: or the vowel quality. A solution which will explain both points is analogy with the 2sg. pronoun ni: (DR 3684), which is phonologically regular in all details (PDr. *ni:). This would seem to be the simplest explanation.'

1.4. The historical explanation for the nominative forms with initial n in Tamil, Kannada and Kodagu (see §3.7) and for the Malayalam form ña:n (see §2.2) will be given under the exclusive and the inclusive plurals since they are analogical in origin. The initial n in the nominative forms of some the languages of the Telugu-Kuwi subgroup is also analogical in origin but here the source of analogy is the oblique base (see §1.8 for further discussion).

1.5. Turning to the reconstruction of the oblique base, we find that the oblique bases of the personal and the reflexive pronouns are formed by shortening the long vowel in them e.g., Ta. ta:n 'self': dative tan-akku, Ka. ta:nu: tan-age, Te. ta:nu: tan-akun. The shortening of the base vowel in such cases is occasioned by the addition of a non-nominative suffix; the conditioning involved here is a morphological one since although originally most of the suffixes begin with a vowel, the genitive and the accusative have Ø variants.⁴ Even in the case of the personal pronouns, this relationship between the nominative form and its oblique base is transparent in some of the languages

4. In Tamil, for example, accusative -ai, instrumental -a:l, sociative -oṭu/-o:ṭu, ablative (Old) -ln/ (later) iliruntu, locative (Old) -ul/ (later) -il are all vowel-beginning suffixes. The reconstructed dative *-kk(u) has the variant -akk(u) that begins with a vowel after these pronouns. The genitive is most commonly represented across the entire family by -Ø; similarly, in many languages, the accusative is unmarked after a noun that denotes an inanimate object. Further, in Old Tamil, there are cases like *avarkaṇṭa:n* < *avan(ai) + *kkāṇṭa:n* '(someone) saw him' which show the Ø variant of the accusative suffix with concomitant sandhi modification even after a masculine pronoun (see Subrahmanyam 1980). Though this process of oblique formation is akin to the common phenomenon of the shortening of a long vowel or a double consonant of the root when the latter is followed by a (meaningless) root extension that begins with a vowel (see Krishnamurti 1955; also Subrahmanyam 1983, Chapter 14 for a more detailed study), it may not be directly related to the latter since there is one important difference between the two: while the conditioning factor for the alternation in the case of the pronouns is a meaningful element, i.e., a non-nominative case suffix (including its zero representation) that in the other case is not a meaningful one (further, in the latter one, the presence of a vowel at the beginning of the derivative element at least at the original stage is essential).

while further changes in either or both of them disguised it in other languages. Accordingly, the oblique base of PDr. *ya:n̄ can be posited as *yan̄-. Even though this form has not remained as such in any daughter language, the oblique bases that occur in the various subgroups (SDr. *en̄, NDr. en-, Te.-Kuwi na:- < PCDr. an-a, Kol.-Pa. an-) require the reconstruction of such a form since it alone can account for the variation between a and e (the same reasons hold good for the reconstruction of the oblique base of the exclusive plural as *yam-, see §2.3). Though the sequence ya- in this and in *yam- was undoubtedly present at the Proto-Dravidian stage, it was not tolerated in the daughter languages because of the virtual absence of it in any other word and therefore had to change. *yan̄- became *en̄- in Proto-South Dravidian, *en- in Proto-North Dravidian and *an- in Proto-Central Dravidian (Proto-Telugu-Kuwi *na:- developed out of this, see §1.7). The g in the oblique bases of Kurux and Malto seems to be the dative suffix in origin: Kur.Malt. eng- < PNDr. *en-akk < PDr. *yan̄-akk(u) (cf. Ta. en̄-akku 'to me') by the loss of a and the voicing of k to g after the nasal. In Br. kan-, the an- part can be considered as the direct development of PNDr. *en- because the change of e to a is somewhat regular in this language, e.g., Br. (h)al 'rat' < PDr. *el-(i) (DR 833; see Emeneau 1962:10-11). After pointing out the unsatisfactory nature of the explanations offered by other scholars, Emeneau (1991) concludes with much plausibility that the pre-Br. *an- took on the additional k 'by "wrong" word-division, i.e., the final -k of an immediately preceding word has provided the initial k- of kan-' (p. 3).⁵

1.6. The oblique base nan- of later Kannada, Irula and Kodagu is created on the basis of the nominative forms (Ka. na:nu, Irula na:, Kod. na:(ni)) by extending to them the usual process of oblique base formation (i.e., shortening of the vowel; see §3.6 for their origin); it is probable that this process diffused from Kannada to the other two languages. Regarding the oblique bases of Kodagu, en- and its variant e:- before the case suffixes other than the accusative and the instrumental (enn-a 'me', enn-onḍi 'by me', e:-ki 'to me', e:-da 'my') seem to be archaic forms as they occur only in folk songs. nan- (before accusative -a [nann-a 'me'] and instrumental -onḍi [nann-onḍi 'by me']) and na:- (before the other case suffixes: na:-ki 'to me', na:-da 'my') are, therefore, the more common oblique bases. The forms with the long

5. In Brahui, a word-final k when preceded by a short vowel is doubled before a suffix or a word that begins with a vowel and the second k thus derived has been attached, according to Emeneau, to the oblique case forms of this pronoun; he notes that Brahui allows, though not commonly, the oblique cases of pronouns to follow a verb (i.e., Verb + Dative Case) or a noun (i.e., Noun + Genitive Adjective). Such constructions pave the way for Emeneau's explanation; for example, kucak kana: /my dog (lit., dog my)' < *kucakk *ana:, xalk kane 'struck me' < *xalkk *ane.

vowels appear to have resulted from contraction; for example, e:-kī 'to me' < PSDr. *en-akk(u), na:-kī 'to me' < pre-Kod. *nan-akk(u) (cf. Ka. nan-age); cf. also ni:-kī 'to you (sg.)' < PSDr. *nin-akk(u), ta:-kī 'to self' < PDr. *tan-akk(u) (loss of the intervocalic n followed by the contraction: a/i + a > a:/i:).

1.7. It has been stated above that PDr. *yan- changed to *an- in Proto-Central Dravidian, which, as is well known, is the source for the two subgroups, Telugu-Kuwi and Kolami-Parji. PCDr. *an- remained unchanged in Kolami-Parji but it underwent metathesis in Telug-Kuwi.⁶ That is, *an-a- became na:- by metathesis and thereby the n came to the initial position; the second a in this belongs to the dative and the genitive case suffixes, which alone have, among the case suffixes, forms that are uniformly reconstructable for Proto-Dravidian and thus have a claim for being the oldest. This change can be easily understood if we compare Te. na:-kun, Go. na:-k(u:n), Konda na-ŋi, Pe. na-ŋgeŋ, Kui na:-ngi with Ta. en-akku and Old Ka. en-age all of which mean 'to me'. All these forms are derived from PDr. *yan-akk(u). It first became *an-akk(u) in Proto-Central Dravidian and then became *na:-kk(u) in Proto-Telugu-Kuwi. Similarly, Te. na:-(du) 'my' and Ta. en-a(tu) 'id.' are from PDr. *yan-a(tu). Among the oblique bases, the dative and the genitive are the oldest and they alone have suffixes that can be uniformly reconstructed while the others show individual developments in the various languages or language groups. We can, therefore, assume that the form na:- (which is the result of metathesis and contraction of the two a's to long a:) of these two cases became generalised as the oblique base for the addition of all the non-nominative case suffixes. In Telugu, however, the accusative case form is nan(n)-un for which the pre-Telugu form must be *an-un. It did not undergo metathesis presumably because the vowel that follows the root is u but not a. The initial n in this form must be due to the analogical influence of na:-, which occurs in the remaining oblique cases (note that the accusative forms of the 1st exclusive plural and the 2nd person plural pronouns also show a similar addition of m in the initial position, see §§2.4, 5.5). Metathesis in the oblique base and the subsequent analogical reshaping of the nominative form (§1.8) by the addition of the same consonant

6. Note that metathesis is a common development in the languages of the Telugu-Kuwi subgroup (Krishnamurti 1978; also Subrahmanyam 1969a, §12, 1983, §16.1). Also note that it operated in most of these languages in the demonstrative pronouns and their oblique bases also (violating in the process the restrictions on C₂, which hold good otherwise); for example, Te. va:Ndu 'he (dist.)' (oblique (Old) va:n-i-/ (later) va:d-i-) < *avant(u) (oblique base *avan-), Te. da:n-i- (oblique base of adi 'she, it'), Go. ta:n- 'id.' *at-an-. In Konda, Pengo and Manda, the original vowel of the metathesized oblique base has been shortened before certain case markers.

have operated also in the other personal pronouns of the Telugu-Kuwi subgroup (see §§2.4, 4.4, 5.5).

1.8. Another special development in the Telugu-Kuwi subgroup of languages is that in some of them the absolute forms have an initial *n*. While Telugu, Gondi and Kui have two forms each, one beginning with a vowel and the other with *n* (as dialectal variants in the latter two), Konḍa and Kuwi have only forms with an initial *n* and Pengo and Maṇḍa have only forms with an initial vowel. That the forms beginning with a vowel are more original is made clear by the above discussion. The fact that in Nannaya's *Maha:bha:ratamu* and in Nanneco:ḍa's *Kuma:rasambhavam*, the first two literary works in Telugu (11th century A.D.), *e:nu* is more common than *ne:nu* (which occurs only in four instances in the former and in six in the latter as against numerous occurrences of *e:nu*) also supports this assumption. We can, therefore, conclude that the initial *n* in such forms of these languages has been added due to the analogy of the oblique *na:-* that had resulted through metathesis. This analogical change took place in later Telugu, Konḍa, Kuwi and some dialects of Gondi and Kui. Pengo-Maṇḍa and the other dialects of Gondi and Kui are not affected by this change. This change can only be a parallel development or it must have originated first in Telugu and later diffused into the other neighbouring languages. The absolute forms beginning with *n*, unlike the corresponding oblique base, cannot be reconstructed for Proto-Telugu-Kuwi not only because there is no uniformity among the languages in this respect but also because the historical evidence from Telugu clearly shows that the form with an *n* at the beginning is a later one. In Go. *ana:*, *nanna:*, the shortening of the root vowel seems to be due to the addition of the derivative element *a:* to it.

2. First Person Exclusive Plural Pronoun (DR 5154)

2.1. Ta. (Old) *ya:m* (*em-*), (Old rare) *ya:ṇkaḷ*, (later) *na:ṇkaḷ* (*eṇkaḷ-*)

Ma. (Old) *ṇa:ṇṇaḷ* (*eṇṇaḷ-*), (later) *ṇaṇṇaḷ* (*ṇaṇṇaḷ-*)

A:lu-Kurumba *eṇga* (*eṇga-*)

Koḍ. *eṇga* (*eṇga-*) [not in use now],
naṇga (*naṇga-*) 'we (excl./incl.)'

Ko. *a:m* 'we(excl./incl.)' (*em-* 'excl.')

To. *em* (*em-*)

Old Ka. *a:m* (*em-*)

Badaga *eṇga* (*eṇga-*)

Tu. (B.) eṇklu, (SC.) eṇk(u)li, (NC.) eṇkulu ([NC.] eṇkale-, [others] eṇk(u)le-)

Koraga eṇkili (am(m-, accus.amu-nu, gen. amm-a)

Te. (Old) e:mu, (Old & later) me:mu, (ne:mu) (ma:-; but [Old] mam(m)u- before accus. -n(u), [Mod.] mammal- before accus. -ni)

Go. (Tr.) ammaṭ 'we (excl.)', (W) mamma:t, (Ph.) amma:t, ammoṭ, mamma:t, mamma:r, (M.) mama:t, ma:t, (Abujh Maria N., Maḍia NM) ma:t, (L.) ma:maṭ, (Schore, Balaghat, Yeotmal, U.) amak/amok, (SR) mamōṭ, namōṭ, mamo, mara:t, (Muria B.) mammo(t), (Mu.) mamma, mammoṭ, (ASu.) mammo:(k) 'we (excl.)' as opposed to mara:t 'we (incl.)', (Koya Su.) mamma (ma:- in all dialects, Koya Su. accus. ma:m-in). (In dialects other than Tr. and ASu., the forms mean both inclusive and exclusive)

Konḍa ma:p(u), ma:n 'excl.', ma:t(u) 'incl.' (for both ma:-)

Pe. a:p(eṇ) 'excl.', a:s(eṇ), a:h(eṇ) 'incl. (for both, accus.-dat. maṇ/maṇgeṇ, gen. ma:)

Mand. a:m 'excl./incl.' (ma:-)

Kui a:mu, (K.) ma:mu 'excl.', a:ju 'incl.' (for both, ma:-)

Kuwi (F.) ma:mbu:, (S., Su., P., Isr.) ma:mbu 'excl.', (F.) ma:r(r)o:, (S., Isr.) ma:ro 'incl.' (for both ma:-; accus. ma:m-a?ā/ ma-ṇgo/ ma-ṇge, dat. ma-ṇge)

Kol. Nk. Pa. Ga. a:m (am-)

Pa. amor 'we (incl.)'

Kur. Malt. e:m (em-)

PDr. *ya:m (*yam-)

2.2. The nominative forms in all the languages are derived from PDr. *ya:m, which has been retained by Old Tamil as such. As in the case of *ya:n, the ya:- in it also changes to e: in Telugu, Kurux and Malto and to a: in all the other languages. Ta. ya:ṇkaḷ is formed by the addition of the plural suffix -kaḷ to ya:m.⁷ Later Ta. na:ṇkaḷ as well as Ma. ña:ṇṇaḷ are most probably the derivatives of earlier ya:ṇkaḷ; that is, ya:ṇkaḷ > *ña:ṇkaḷ > later Ta.

7. It is of special interest to note that in the Tamil literature the form ya:ṇkaḷ first occurs in **Cilappatika:ram** (11:161, 2nd century A.D.), which was composed in the Ce:ra kingdom (i.e., the present-day Malayalam area; this fact was noted by Subrahmanya Sastri [1934:127]). This bit of historical evidence regarding the area of the creation of this form also lends support to the above explanation of the Malayalam form. Ta. ya:ṇkaḷ should be added to DR 5154.

na:ηkaḷ/Ma. ña:ηηaḷ (see Shanmugam 1971: 185-6). The only uncertainty in this explanation is that *ña:ηkaḷ is not attested in the Tamil literature but this is not serious enough to invalidate it since even in the Middle Tamil period there was variation between ñ and n in the initial position and the ñ form expected on the basis of the Malayalam form does not appear in Tamil in some other words also (for example, Ta. na:val 'jambon plum' : Ma. ña:val [DR 2914], Ta. neruppu 'fire' : Ma. ñerippu [DR 2929]). This explanation seems to be far better than saying that Ta. na:ηkaḷ is derived from the inclusive pronoun na:m by the addition of the -kaḷ plural suffix. The latter explanation has two drawbacks: one is the unparalleled semantic change involved and the other is that its oblique base, eηkaḷ-, which is more common in Middle Tamil (than naηkaḷ-) and is the only one that has survived into the modern language, is clearly from *yam- which makes it highly probable that na:ηkaḷ must also be from *ya:m (but not from *na:m). The 1st person singular form of Malayalam ña:n seems to have been created analogically on the basis of the plural form ña:ηηaḷ. In this connection, we must note that the ña:n form occurs only in the literature but not in the inscriptions in the early period; the latter contain only na:n, which is identical with Middle Ta. na:n̄ (see Sekhar 1953:87). Go. ammat̄ is from pre-Gondī *a:m by the addition of a new plural suffix, namely, -a(:)t̄, which caused the shortening of the root vowel. (See also §5.7).

2.3. Its oblique base in PDr. is *yam- which became *em- in the South and the North Dravidian languages and *am- in the Central Dravidian languages (the origin and the developments of this form are similar to those of *yan̄-, see §§1.5-7). The forms of later Tamil, Old Malayalam,⁸ Kodagu and

8. According to Ramaswami Aiyar (1936:36), the oblique base eηηaḷ- was more frequent than ñaηηaḷ- and ña:ηηaḷ- in the earliest Malayalam texts (eηηaḷ- 'is gradually displaced by ñaηηaḷ- as the "oblique" stem in later texts, till in the modern Mal. stage it has been more or less ousted except in certain communal colloquials.' **op. cit.**, p. 36). In a few instances, emm- is also found to occur in Old Malayalam (before the locative suffix -il) without the -kaḷ plural suffix as in Old Tamil. Ramaswami Aiyar further observes that Old Malayalam texts sometimes show the nominative forms of the 1st person (with a long vowel) used in the place of the corresponding oblique bases; thus, ña:n occurs before the postpositions -mu:lam and -nimittam (ña:n-mu:lam 'through me', ña:n-nimittam 'for me') and ña:ηηaḷ before certain case suffixes (e.g., ña:ηηaḷ-e 'us', ña:ηηaḷ-il 'among us'). Conversely, the older oblique base eηηaḷ- is used as the nominative form in certain instances. There is, however, nothing unusual about it since this phenomenon is found in many other languages of the family and even Malayalam has other instances for it (the 2nd plural niηηaḷ- replaced the original *ni:ηηaḷ that should have been there right from the beginning and the 1st pl. ñaηηaḷ- replaced the older ña:ηηaḷ in the modern language, see also §6.5). The promiscuous use of the nominative form in the place of the oblique base in Old Malayalam texts is unique since it is not paralleled anywhere else in the family. It must have been prompted by the already established phenomenon of using the oblique base in the place of the nominative form, which led to confusion between the two at the initial stage.

also that of Tulu are from *eṇkaḷ-, which resulted from the addition of the plural suffix -kaḷ to *em-. Kodagu, like spoken Tamil, shows the loss of the final *l* before word boundary in this form as elsewhere (cf. also *ava* 'she' < *avaḷ (DR 1), *mo:va* 'daughter' < *makal (DR 4616); examples from Tamil: *na:ṇka* < *na:ṇkaḷ*, *eṇga-* < *eṇkaḷ*, *ni:ṇke* < *ni:ṇkaḷ*, *uṇka-* < *uṇkaḷ*-). It can, however, be restored even by internal reconstruction in both the languages as it still appears before suffixes that begin with a vowel, as in *Koḍ. naṇgaḷ-a* 'us', *niṇgaḷ-a* 'you (pl.) (accus.)'. The other form *naṇga* of Kodagu, which also shows the loss of final **l*, is also the oblique base in origin; it is relatable to middle Ta. *naṇkaḷ* and Ma. *ṇaṇṇaḷ* (see §2.4). According to Emeneau (1967: 392), they are free variants without the exclusive ~ inclusive distinction. Balakrishnan (1977: 45), on the other hand, says that *eṇga* occurs only in folk songs and in certain dialects; this piece of information allows us to consider *eṇga* as the archaic form and *naṇga* as its more common counterpart (my enquiries with the native speakers revealed that *eṇga* is not in use now; see also §1.6). That these Kodagu forms were originally oblique bases is clear from the fact that they contain a short vowel; they must have replaced the original nominative form at a later stage. The Malayalam oblique base *ṇaṇṇaḷ*- is created analogically on the basis of *ṇa:ṇṇaḷ*; it is used as the nominative form also in the present day Malayalam. The same development is found to occur in Toda and Tulu also. The nominative form in pre-Toda must have been *a:m as in *Kota*. The pre-Tulu form could have been *e:m(kal); cf. the corresponding singular pronoun *e:ni*. Such a replacement of the nominative form by the oblique base took place in course of time most probably because, in a discourse, the oblique base occurs more frequently, that is, before all non-nominative suffixes and postpositions, than the nominative form, which is confined only to the subject position in a sentence.

2.4. It is of prime importance to note that Middle Tamil texts contain the oblique base *naṇkaḷ*- besides the more frequent *eṇkaḷ*-; this fact received scarce attention earlier. Subrahmanya Sastri (1934:127) simply gave one citation for this from *Tiruva:cakam* (9th century A.D.), namely, *naṇkaḷ peruma:nai* (7.67) 'our (excl.) lord (accus.)' without any discussion. Ramaswami Aiyar (1936: 35) with his usual acumen compared Ma. *ṇaṇṇaḷ*- with this (Early) Middle Tamil form. According to Devasahayam (1980), *Na:la:yira Divyaprabandham* (about 9th century A.D.) has 37 occurrences of *naṇkaḷ*- as opposed to 77 of *eṇkaḷ*-; that is, the ratio between the two is approximately 1 : 2.⁹ This shows that *naṇkaḷ*- had some currency in the

9. A few examples for *naṇkaḷ*- are: *naṇkaḷ ko:n* (710:4) 'our (excl.) king', *naṇkaḷ va:lvu* (974:4) 'our (excl.) life', *naṇkaḷ peruma:n* (1446:4) 'our (excl.) king', *naṇkaḷ vinaikal* (1546:4) 'our (excl.) actions'.

Middle Tamil stage although it did not survive into modern Tamil; it could be a form prevalent in the southern dialects of Tamil that are adjacent to the present day Malayalam area. What is important to note here is that Ta. *naṇkaḷ*-, Ma. *ṇaṇṇaḷ*- and Koḍ *naṇga*- look to a single reconstructed form, that is, **ṇaṇkaḷ*-, which originated through analogy on the basis of the nominative **ṇa:ṇkaḷ* < **ya:ṇkaḷ*.¹⁰

2.5. The PCDr. oblique base **am*- remained as such in the Kolami-Parji subgroup. In the other subgroup of Central Dravidian, namely Telugu-Kuwi, it underwent metathesis when followed by a suffix that begins with a, that is, in the dative and the genitive case forms and became *ma:-*. Compare Te. *ma:-kun*, Go. *ma:-k(u:n)*, Koṇḍa *ma-ṇi*, Pe. *ma-ṇ(geṇ)*, Kui *ma:-ngi*, Kuwi *ma-ṇge* with Ta. *em-akku* and Old Ka. *em-age/eva-ge* all of which mean 'to us (excl.)'. All these are from PDr. **yam-akk(u)*. Similarly, the genitive form *ma:-* of Telugu-Kuwi is from PDr. **yam-a*; it goes without saying that the oblique base that occurs in these two cases with the oldest suffixes has been extended to the other oblique cases in Telugu-Kuwi. In Telugu, the initial *m* in the accusative form *mam(m)-un* is an addition due to the analogical influence of the metathesized form *ma:-*. In some of these languages the nominative form also took an initial *m* on the analogy of the metathesized oblique base *ma:-*. Thus, in Telugu, the earlier form *e:mu* later became *me:mu*. The two oldest literary works of Telugu, namely Nannaya's *Maha:bha:ratamu* and Nanneco:ḍa's *Kuma:rasambhavam* (both of the 11th century A.D.), provide ample statistical evidence for this conclusion. In the former work, *e:mu* is more common than *me:mu*, which latter occurs only in six instances, while, in the latter work, *e:mu* is the only form found

10. The reconstruction of **ṇaṇkaḷ*- as the common source for the oblique bases of Tamil, Malayalam and Koḍagu gives rise to an intriguing question. It is a fact that the Tamil reflex of this does not appear in Sangam literature but appears only at a later date. There is also little doubt about the fact that Koḍagu had split from Tamil-Malayalam before the beginning of the Tamil record since the former does not share with the latter the palatalisation of **k*- (see Subrahmanyam 1971a: 517-19). To reconcile these two facts with each other, we may have to assume that the oblique base *ṇaṇkaḷ/naṇkaḷ*- and, ipso facto, the corresponding nominative form of it, namely, *ṇa:ṇkaḷ/na:ṇkaḷ* were present in Tamil in some regional dialects even before the time of separation of Koḍagu though they did not gain literary status until after the end of the Sangam period. That the oblique base did not survive for long in Tamil is a different matter. The similarity between spoken Tamil and Koḍagu in showing the loss of final *l* in polysyllabic words, on the other hand, seems to be nothing more than a parallel development. Koḍagu seems to have gone beyond spoken Tamil in this matter since, while in Tamil the loss of final *l/l* occurs only when it is part of a suffix (e.g., *av-aḷ* 'she' > *av-a*, *va-nt-a:l* 'if (one) comes' > *va-nt-a:*), **l* and **l* are lost in Koḍagu even when they occur at the end of a monomorphemic (but polysyllabic) word, e.g., *maṇa* 'sand' (: Ta. *maṇaḷ*, DR 4666), *bera* 'finger' (: Ta. *viraḷ*, DR 5409), *ora* 'mortar' (: Ta. *uraḷ*, DR 651), *nēḷa* 'shade' (: Ta. *niḷaḷ*, DR 3679), *kari* 'intestines' (: Ma. *karuḷ*, DR 1274).

and me:mu does not occur at all.¹¹ Such a change took place also in Konḍa, Kuwi and in some dialects of Gonḍi and Kui, no doubt, independently in each language. We may, perhaps, think of diffusion from Telugu as responsible for this change in this case as well as in the case of the other pronouns. Konḍa ma:p and Kuwi ma:mbu presuppose an original *ma:mp, which must be from still earlier *a:m; *a:m became *ma:m due to analogy with the oblique base and *ma:mp resulted from it by the addition of the excrescent *p, which is homorganic with the final m. In the other dialect of Konḍa, the final p of ma:p has been replaced by n on the analogy of the 1st person singular form na:n of that language.

2.6. Both the Gonḍi-Kuwi and the Parji-Gadaba subgroups lost the reflexes of the Proto-Dravidian inclusive pronoun *na:m (on the Kolami-Naiki forms, see §3.3). But, at a later time, perhaps under the impact of the neighbouring major language, Telugu, some of the languages of these groups created the inclusive pronoun. In the languages of the Gonḍi-Kuwi subgroup, the following are the developments in this direction. It is to be noted that in this subgroup, only the nominative form of the inclusive pronoun is created; the oblique base, which originally was that of the exclusive pronoun, itself functions as the oblique base for the inclusive pronoun also. Gonḍi (Adilabad) mara:t 'we (incl.)' has been created analogically on the basis of the 2nd person plural form mira:t (for the history of the latter form, see §5.7). Gonḍi (Maria) ma:t and also Konḍa ma:t(u) 'we (incl.)' (see Krishnamurti 1969a: 246) seem to be new creations involving the addition of the plural suffix -t to the exclusive oblique base ma:-.¹²

11. The form ne:mu is very rare; it occurs (besides me:mu) only in inscriptions from the beginning of the 16th century (see Ranganathacharyulu 1987:162; Krishnamurti 2001:194). It does not occur either in the old literature or in the spoken language; its initial n is probably analogical to that in 1st sg. ne:nu. Because of the difference in meaning, it cannot be derived from the original inclusive plural (contrary to Krishnamurti 1968b:194); consequently, it cannot vouch for ñ in the latter as supposed by Ranganathacharyulu (*loc. cit.*).

12. The form namoṭ, which unexpectedly begins with n, was recorded earlier only by Sethumadhava Rao in the Adilabad dialect (of Gonḍi); it is now confirmed to be a genuine form by the fieldwork conducted by Umamaheswara Rao. He (1987: 162) cites the forms namaṭ, namoṭ as prevalent in the dialects of northeast of Bastar, eastern part of the Adilabad district and Chandrapur (the last one on the authority of Grierson 1906). The only plausible explanation for it will be to say that *am-oṭ/-aṭ took on the initial n under the influence of the corresponding singular form nan(n)a: 'I'. Another explanation, which is admittedly weak for reasons to be given below would be to derive it from *na:m 'we (incl.)' by the addition of the plural suffix -oṭ/-aṭ. Such a development, however, is a very remote possibility because neither any dialect area of Gonḍi nor any other language of the Gonḍi-Kuwi subgroup retains the reflexes of *na:m; another difficulty is that the former means exclusive but not inclusive plural. It is put in the DR under the group that predominantly contains the

2.7. Pe. a:s(eŋ), a:h(eŋ), Kui a:ju and Kuwi ma:r(r)o seem to yield the reconstruction *a:r̥ for this limited group of languages, whose proto stage, Proto-Pengo-Manda-Kui-Kuwi, can be set up even on other evidence (Subrahmanyam 1971: 525). The initial m in the Kuwi word can be explained as an addition in that language on the analogy of the exclusive plural form ma:mbu. That the consonant in the reconstructed form must be the trill *r̥ but not the other *r is beyond doubt. Only *r̥ but not *r yields Pengo z/s (the normal development is z but it alternates with s before a voiceless stop; further, in the final position s occurs instead of z in some idiolects; the change s > h in the initial and the medial positions is also well attested [see Burrow and Bhattacharya 1970:11-12]), Kui j and Kuwi r(r) (Subrahmanyam 1983:338). If the reconstructed sound were *r, we could think of this as a combination of the exclusive plural stem a: + the 2nd person plural suffix *r but such an explanation is now ruled out. Why the trill *r̥ was used to create this pronominal form must remain a puzzle for the present. However, one faint possibility is that this *r̥ might be the reflex of the new 2nd person plural suffix *-t̥ found in the exclusive plural and the 2nd person plural pronouns and in the imperative plural forms of Gondī and in the Konda inclusive form ma:t̥(u). The uncertainty in this explanation results from the fact that PDr. *t̥ > *r̥ is a change that took place at the Proto-Gondī-Kuwi period (see Subrahmanyam 1983: 338) but this change is absent in the Gondī and the Konda forms in question. Could it be the case that the change was still operative at the Proto-Pengo-Manda-Kui-Kuwi stage (that is, after the separation of Gondī and Konda) and that it affected this newly created pronoun at that stage?

2.8. According to Burrow and Bhattacharya (1953: 40), the Parji inclusive plural amor 'consists of the termination of the second person plural added to the oblique stem of the pronoun of the first person plural, and it means properly "you who are ours".' However, it is more appropriate to say that in this the suffix -or of the 2nd person plural is added directly to the 1st person exclusive plural pronoun since it means not 'you who are ours' but 'you and I/we (excl.)'. The short vowel of the base can still be explained as due to the

reflexes of the inclusive plural pronoun (i.e., DR 3647; the sigillum SR required for this is missing here though it correctly appears in Burrow and Bhattacharya 1960 [entry no. 2707]). This, of course, implies that the authors of that work were of the view that it is derived from *na:m. But this does not seem to be incontrovertible in view of the problems mentioned above. Other important variants noted by Umamaheswara Rao (1987: 162, 163) are: amar̥ for ammat̥ (Betul, etc.), mamar̥ for mamat̥ (Northern Seoni, etc.), mamok for mamot̥ (Adilabad), mam/mom for mamma/mamo (Northern Seoni, Bastar, southeast of Bastar), ma:r̥ for ma:t̥ (Northwest of Bastar (hills), Northeast of Garhchiroli); the entirely new forms amak/amok taken from this source are included in §2.1).

shortening of the original long vowel when followed by a derivative element beginning with a vowel. (This Parji form must be added to DR 5154.)

3. First Person Inclusive Plural Pronoun (DR 3647)

3.1. Ta. na:m (nam(m)-)

Ma. na:m, no:m, nammal (nam(m)-, nom(m)-)

Ir. na:mu 'we (excl./incl.)' (nam-)

A:lu-Kurumba. naŋga (naŋga-)

Ko. a:m 'we (excl./incl.)' (am- 'incl.')

To. om (om-)

Ka. (Old) na:m, na:vu (nam(m)-) 'we (incl.)'; (later) na:vu (nam(m)-) 'we (excl./incl.)'

Badaga naŋga (naŋga-)

Tu. (NC.) nama, (S.) namo, (NB.) na:vu (Ka.) (nama-, [SC.] nama-/namma- before abl. & gen., [N.] namma- before abl. & gen.; [all dialects] naŋ- before dat. -ki)

Koraga. nakili (nam(m)-, accus. namu-nu, gen. namm-a)

Te. manamu (mana-; but Old accus. mana-l-a-n(u) [see note 16])

Go. (Southern Chandrapur) manar, (South Bastar) manal, (Khammam) manad(a) (mana- for all) (All < Te.)

Kol. ne:nd (ne:nd-), (Adilabad) ne:m, ne:nd (ne:m-)

Nk. ne:nd, ne:m

Kur. Malt. na:m (nam-, Kur. also naŋg-)

Br. nan (nan-) 'we (excl./incl.)'

PDr. *na:m (? ña:m) (*nam-)

3.2. PDr. *na:m is the ultimate source for all the above forms (excepting those of Kolami and Naiki).¹³ Later Kannada (and Kota [in the nominative

13. Krishnamurti (1968:194, 2001:93, 2003:248) assumes that the Proto-Dravidian form for this is *ña:m with the palatal nasal in the initial position. Although this reconstruction explains the presence of the vowel e: in the Kolami-Naiki forms corresponding to the a: of the other languages as he claims (see §3.3), the following points stand in the way of accepting this as the final solution. (i) If Proto-Dravidian had initial ñ in this form, Old Tamil and/or at least Malayalam should have retained it since these

form] and Irula under its influence) and Brahui lost the exclusive and inclusive distinction, and, consequently, the original inclusive forms assumed the exclusive meaning too in these languages. Old Kannada, however, has a:m as the exclusive plural and, at that stage, na:m/na:vu were used only in the inclusive sense; *Pampabha:rata* (10th century A.D.), for example, has both na:m and na:vu (in the inclusive sense; cf. Ramachandra Rao 1972: 70, 398). The change -v- < *-m- seems to have taken place in the later period of the Old Kannada stage (according to Kittel [1903/1982:74], na:vu occurs in an inscription of 1181 A.D. and ta:vu < *ta:m in an inscription of 1123 A.D.).

3.3. It has already been noted that there are no genuine reflexes of PDr. *na:m in both the Gondī-Kuwi and Parji-Gadaba subgroups (§2.6). The forms given under Gondī in §3.1 are chiefly of the Koya dialect, which shows a good deal of influence of Telugu.¹⁴ The oblique base here is identical with that of the corresponding Telugu form (for the history of the latter, see §3.5). The nominative forms manar/manad(a) are created on the basis of the oblique base by adding to the latter the plural suffix -r/-d(a), which is relatable to the plural -ṭ found in the personal pronouns of other dialects; manal on the other hand, shows the addition of the Telugu pl. -lu (cf. Te. manala-nu 'us (incl.)'). Kol. Nk ne:nd, ne:m do not seem to be directly related to PDr. *na:m for two reasons. One is the aberrant vowel correspondence, Kol. Nk. e: : PDr. a:, which is not otherwise attested. Another reason is that they themselves function as the oblique bases without shortening the vowel, which runs contrary to the norm. A satisfactory explanation of the origin of these forms must be left for future work. Krishnamurti, however, considers the Kolami-Naiki forms as evidence for reconstructing the

two languages regularly retain PDr. *ñ-. They, however, have only na:m with the dental n. Zvelebil (1990: 25, note 73) echoes this argument (given in Subrahmanyam 1967-68, note 6, p. 207) against the reconstruction of *ña:m. (ii) The Kolami-Naiki nominative forms of the inclusive plural themselves function as the oblique base without there being the reflexes of the original oblique base with a short vowel, e.g. Kol. ne:m-e/ne:nd-e ella: 'our (incl.) house'; this is in marked contrast with the situation in the other personal pronouns within the same languages. (iii) Ma. ña:ηηaḷ can now be safely assumed to be from *ya:ηkaḷ (see §2.2) and, therefore, it too cannot vouch for the reconstruction of the form with ñ.

14. Some of the northern dialects of Gondī have borrowed the inclusive plural form from (Indo-Aryan) Marathi; cf. Marathi apāṇ 'we (incl.), you (formal) with the possessive forms (masc.) apla, (fem.) apli, (neut.) aplā:. The forms are (Umamaheswara Rao [1987:163, 178]): apan, apon (apna-) (Sehore, Hoshangabad, Chindwara, Mandla), aplo with the oblique base aplo- (Betul, seoni, Adilabad) or aple- (Nagpur, Yeotmal, Akola). It is doubtful whether amahk, amok (ma:-) given by Umamaheswara Rao (*loc. cit.*) on the authority of Grierson (1906) are really used in the inclusive sense alone.

Proto-Dravidian form as $\tilde{n}a:m$ since the $a:/e:$ variation indicates the earlier presence of a palatal before the vowel (see note 13). The final \tilde{d} in $ne:n\tilde{d}$ is a new plural suffix and is related to $-a:t/-o:t/-t$ that occurs as the plural suffix in both the plural personal pronouns of Gondi and in the inclusive plural form $ma:t$ of Konda.

3.4. The Proto-Dravidian oblique base of this pronoun is $*nam-$. It resulted through the process of shortening of the root vowel, which is commonly found in the personal and the reflexive pronouns (§0.1). Br. *nan*, which functions both as the nominative and as the oblique base, must in origin be the oblique base derived from PDr. $*nam-$; it must have replaced the original nominative form at a later date. It contains n instead of the expected m in the final position; here m has been replaced by n presumably because of the influence of the oblique base of the 1st person singular pronoun *kan-* ending in n of this language (see §1.5).¹⁵

3.5. In Telugu, $*nam-a$, which is the original oblique base plus $-a$ of the dative and the genitive suffixes in origin, underwent syllabic metathesis and changed to *mana-*. The analogical influence exerted by the oblique bases of the other two plural personal pronouns, which came to begin with m due to metathesis, seems to be responsible for this.¹⁶ This will become clear if we

15. I remember the suggestion of T.P. Meenakshisundaran (in one of his lectures) that the final n of Br. *nan* can be the direct reflex of the m of $*na:m$ since there is a free variation between m and \underline{n} in the final position of nouns as in Ta. *maram/ maran* 'tree' (DR 4711a). This cannot be the correct explanation since in the nouns m and \underline{n} have no morphemic value whereas in the personal and the reflexive pronouns they are distinct morphemes the former denoting plural and the latter singular. Free variation between entities that have disparate meanings is out of the question.

16. In Old Telugu, the oblique base is *mana-* before all non-nominative case suffixes other than the accusative and before the postpositions (*mana-kun* 'to us (incl.)', *mana-to:n* 'with us (incl.)', etc.). Before the accusative $-n(u)$, however, it takes the plural suffix $-lu$ and the oblique base in this case consequently is *mana-l-a-* so that the accusative case form is *mana-l-a-n(u)*; cf. *manalaN ga:naN bri:tito:N da:n ippud e:teñce(n(u))* (Nannaya's [11th century A.D.] usage in the **Maha:bha:ratamu**, 1.8.63) 'now he came to see us (incl.) with affection', *manalaN gani yiñcukayun da: sairāṇa se:yaNḍu* (Tikkana's [13th century A.D.] usage in the same work, 4.4.230) 'on seeing,, he will not spare us (incl.) at all' [N represents the nasalisation of the preceding vowel.]. In the present day language, the accusative form *mana-l-(a)-ni* occurs chiefly in the southern dialects but the northern dialects have in its place *man(a)-ni*, pronounced *mAnni* (A = low central vowel which contrasts with the normal lower mid a as in *manni* 'having lasted long [as cloth, etc.]' (such a contrast results from the deletion of the second a , which conditions the quality of the preceding a , in the former). The oblique base in all other environments is *mana-* in all the dialects as in the old language. A similar addition of the plural suffix only before the accusative marker is found in the modern language (all dialects) in the exclusive plural *me:m*, accus. *mammal-ni* (Old *mam(m)-un(u)*) and in the 2nd plural *mi:ru*, accus. *mimmal-ni* (Old *mim(m)-un(u)*).

compare Te. *mana-kun* with Ta. *nam-akku* and Ka. *nam-age* all of which mean 'to us (incl.)'. After **nam-a* had changed to *mana-*, the nominative form *manamu* has been created in the place of original **na:m* by suffixing the plural marker *-m* to the former. This suffixation seems to have become necessary to make it conform to the normal pattern in the personal pronouns with sg. *-n* and pl. *-m* at the end; in particular, the exclusive form (m)*e:mu* could be the immediate source for this analogical development. Similarly, the Tulu nominative *nama*, *name* must also be the oblique base in origin.

3.6. The forms in Kota and Toda show loss of the initial *n*; this change must have taken place at the proto stage of these two languages.¹⁷ In this particular case, it appears to have been induced by the other two 1st person pronouns that begin with a vowel. Ko *a:m* < **na:m* and the oblique bases, Ko. *am-*, To. *om-* < Proto-Ko.-To. **am-* < PDr. **nam-*. In Toda, the oblique base later replaced the original nominative form, which could have been **o:m*.

3.7. Now we are ready to give historical explanation for the 1st person singular forms that begin with *n* in Tamil, Kannaḍa and Koḍagu (see §1.4). Literary evidence shows that in Tamil *ya:n* is earlier and *na:n* later (Sangam literature has numerous occurrences of *ya:n* but only one instance for *na:n* [*Paripa:tal* 6.87]; even *Maṇime:kalai* [17.45] of the 6th century A. D. has only one instance of *na:n*; so Shanmugam 1969:75). However, *ya:n* continued to occur along with the new form *na:n* in the works of the Middle Tamil period as an archaism. Similarly, in Kannaḍa, *a:n* is earlier and *na:nu* occurs only from the 10th century onwards (see Gai 1946: 66). These forms as well as the Koḍagu form with an initial *n* are the results of remaking of earlier *a:n* on the analogy of the corresponding plural pronouns that begin with *n* in

17. For sporadic loss of initial *n* in Dravidian, see Burrow 1968:270, Krishnamurti 1961:218-9, Subrahmanyam 1983:383. The loss of exclusive-inclusive distinction in the Kota nominative form seems to be the result of areal influence of Baḍaga on that language. The inclusive and the exclusive forms of these languages are given in the DR (as well as in its first edition of 1961) in one entry, i.e., 5154, which should contain only the reflexes of PDr. *ya:m* (*yam-*). This implies that the absolute form of the original exclusive plural assumed the inclusive meaning also in Kota while its oblique base **ya:n-* split into the two Proto-Kota-Toda forms **em-* and *am-* the former used in the exclusive sense and the latter in the inclusive sense. Such a hypothesis is not only odd from the point of view of semantics but is also unsupported by historical phonology (there is otherwise not even a single example for the change PDr. *ya-* Ko. *a/* To. *o*). It is, therefore, better to derive the exclusive forms from **ya:m* (**yam-*) and the inclusive forms from **na:m* (**nam-*). Kota *a:m* will, then, be a homophonous form derived from two different sources.

these languages.¹⁸ This explanation is convincing because in the later stages of Old Tamil the original exclusive plural pronoun was replaced by *na:ŋkal*. Similarly, in later Kannada, *na:vu* replaced earlier *a:m* and established itself as the 1st person plural pronoun. These plural pronouns with an initial *n* became the only ones available in the later stages of these languages and they, in turn, induced the corresponding singular pronouns to take on an additional *n* initially. It has already been pointed out (§2.2) that Ma. *ñā:n* is an analogical creation on the basis of the corresponding plural pronoun *ñā:ŋkal*, which is from *ya:ŋkal*.

4. Second Person Singular Pronoun (DR 3684)

4.1. Ta. *ni*: ((Old) *nin(n)-*, (Middle) *nin(n)-/nun(n)-/un(n)-*, (Mod.) *un(n)-*)

Ma. *ni*: (*nin(n)-*)

Ir. *ni*: (*nin-*)

A:lu-Kurumba. *ni*:(*nu*) (*ninna-*)

Koḍ. *ni*:(*nī*) (*nin-*, *nī:-*)

Ko. *ni*: (*nin-*, *nī-*, *dī-*)

To. *ni*: (*nīn-*)

Ka. (Old) *ni*:*M*, *ni*:*n*, (later) *ni*:*nu* (*nin(n)-*)

Baḍaga. *ni*: (*nin-*)

Tu. *i*: ([SB.] *inna-*, [NB.] *ina-/nina-*, [SC.] *ninna-*, [NC.] *nina-*, dat. [SB.] *in-kī*, [SC.] *nī-kkī*, [NB.] *nīṅ-kī*, [NC] *nī-kkī*)

Koraga. *ijji* (*nin(n)-*, accus. *nin-nī/ nina-nu*, gen. *ninn-a*)

Te. (Old) *i:vu*, *ni:vu*, (Mod.) *nuvvu* (*nī:-*; but [Old] *nin(n)u-* before accus. *-n(u)/* [Mod.] accus. form *ninnu*)

Go. (Tr., W., Ph.) *imma:*, (Ch.) *ima*, (Betul, etc. U) *ime*, (Asu.) *nimme:*, (G., Mu., Muria S) *nim(m)a*, (Na., M.) *nima*, (Abujh Maria N.)

18. This explanation was originally that of Collins and was quoted with approval by Burrow (1968:115-18): 'The correct explanation of these modern forms would seem to be that given by M. Collins in his **Remarks** to K.V. Subbayya's treatise, namely that **n-** of the inclusive plural *na:m* has been tacked on to the singular. Just as *ya:n* of the singular corresponds to *ya:m* (excl.) of the plural, so a form *na:n* is created by analogy corresponding to the plural *na:m* (incl.)' (op. cit., p. 118). It must be noted here that although Burrow intended this explanation to hold good for the forms with initial *n* of all the languages, it works satisfactorily only for those of the South Dravidian languages. A more plausible explanation of the initial *n* of the forms of the languages of the Telugu-Kuwi group has already been given in §1.8.

nim(m)a:, (Maḍia NM) nimma:, (Koya Su.) nimma (ni:-; Koya Su. accus. ni:n-in)

Konda ni:n (ni:-)

Pe. e:n(eŋ) (ni:-; accus.-dat. niŋ-gen)

Mand. i:n (ni:-, accus.-dat. niŋ)

Kui. i:nu, (K.) ni:nu (ni:-)

Kuwi. ni:nu (ni:-; accus. ni:n-a?ã / ni-ŋgo/ ni-ŋgè, dat. ni-ŋge)

Kol. Nk. ni:v (in-)

Nk. (Ch.) i:v, ni:v (in-)

Pa. Ga. (Oll., S.) i:n (in-)

Kur. Malt. ni:n (niŋg-)

Br. ni: (ne:-; gen. n-a:, enclitic gen., dat., accus. -ne)

PDr. *ni:(n) (*nin-)

4.2. PDr. *ni:(n) is the source for the nominative forms of all the languages (except Gondī). The final n of it is lost in Tamil, Malayalam, Irūḷa, a:lu-Kurumba (optionally), Koḍagu (optionally), Kota, Toda, Tuḷu, Telugu and Brahui. Since all the three major subgroups are represented by this list of languages, the change in question, that is, the loss of final n in this pronoun must have operated in Proto-Dravidian itself. It is also more or less certain that this form must have had a final n originally since the latter is the marker for the singular in the personal and the reflexive pronouns. Among all, the Gondī forms alone are not directly relatable to the reconstructed form; it will be shown below (§5.7) that they are created afresh from the corresponding plural forms by the removal of the plural marker -t. The oblique base of Gondī, on the other hand, is more original as is evident not only from its uniformity in all the dialects but also from its identity with the oblique bases of the rest of the languages of the Telugu-Kuwi subgroup. In Tuḷu and Proto-Central Dravidian, the initial n of the singular as well as well as the plural 2nd person pronouns (in both the nominative and the oblique bases) is regularly lost. Tu. i: < *ni:(n) by the loss of both the initial and the final nasals. Te. i:vu is from pre-Te. *i:, which, like the Tuḷu form, is from *ni:(n). The addition of vu is necessitated by the syllabic structure of Telugu which usually does not admit of words of the (C)V: type.¹⁹ Kol. Nk. ni:v and Nk. (Ch.) i:v are most probably loans from Telugu since they closely

19. Other words which were originally of the type (C)V: also took the additional vu in Telugu; e.g., a:vu 'cow' (cf. Old Te. pl. a:-lu) PDr. *a: (DR 334), pu:vu 'flower' (Old Te. also pu:, pl. pu:-lu) PDr. *pu: (DR 4345).

resemble the Telugu form in having the *v* finally. Before borrowing these forms, Proto-Kolami-Naiki might have had the form *i:n* as their nearest related languages Parji and Gadaba do; this guess is further confirmed by the oblique base *in-* in these languages which presupposes the nominative **i:n*. Pengo shows the change **i: > e:* in both the pronouns of the 2nd person: sg. *e:n(eŋ) < PCDr. *i:n*, pl. *e:p(eŋ) < PCDr. *i:m*.

4.3. The oblique base of this in Proto-Dravidian is **nin-* with the short vowel as is to be expected. It is retained as such in all the South Dravidian languages (see §5.4 for the explanation of later Ta. *un(n)-*).²⁰ Kur.-Malt. *niŋg-* is from PDr. **nin-akk(u)* and is, therefore, the dative case form in origin that has been generalised as the oblique base (see also §1.5). We can, therefore, conclude that **nin-* has been retained by these languages also. Brahui seems to have retained only the initial *n* of **nin-* the presence of which in pre-Brahui is guaranteed by the presence of the oblique bases with a short vowel of the other personal pronouns.

4.4. In Proto-Central Dravidian, PDr. **nin-* became **in-* by the loss of the initial *n* (see note 17) and it remained as such in the Kolami-Parji subgroup. It should be noted here that although Kolami, Naikri and Naiki (Ch.) borrowed the nominative form of this pronoun from Telugu, they have retained the original (i.e., PCDr.) oblique base without any change. In the Telugu-Kuwi group of languages, on the other hand, **in-* underwent metathesis as in the case of the oblique bases of the other personal pronouns and became *ni:-*.²¹ Compare Te. *ni:-kun*, Go. *ni:-k(u:n)*, Konda *ni-ŋi*, Pe. *ni-ŋgeŋ* and

20. In Kota, the oblique bases of the 1st and the 2nd person singular pronouns have variants when they are used as genitive case forms (the case suffix being -Ø). Thus, 1st sg. *en-* has the variant *e* before kinship terms beginning with a consonant, e.g., *e meyn* 'my son'; 2nd sg. *nin-* has the variants *ni* and *di* before kinship terms that begin with a nasal and a stop respectively, e.g., *ni meyn* 'your son', *di bed* 'your wife' (Emeneau 1944:24; 1967b:75). In Kodagu, *ni:-* seems to be the contraction of *nin-*; for example, *ni:-ki* 'to you (sg.)' **nin-akk(u)*; *nin-* occurs only before the accusative and the instrumental suffixes (cf. *e:-ki* 'to me' **en-akk(u)*). Of the two Tulu oblique bases, *in-* seems to belong to the Brahmin dialect and *nin-* to the Common dialect (of at least a particular area); cf. accus. *nin-ani*, gen. *nin-na*, dat. *ni-kki*, sociative *ninn-ottigi* (I am indebted to my colleague Professor Ramakrishna Shetty for this information).

21. Usually after metathesis *i* and *a* contract into *e:* but in this and the corresponding plural form (see §5.5) the high vowel has been retained probably because of analogy with the nominative forms, which have *i:*. For a similar retention of the vowel quality after metathesis, cf. Te. *vi:Ndu* 'this man' and *vi:ru* 'these people' which are from **ivant(u)* and **ivar* respectively; here the other forms based on the proximate demonstrative base *i-* appear to be the restraining factors. Te. *di:ni* (**it-ani*), oblique base of *idi* 'she, it (prox.)', and (Old) *vi:ni* (**iv-ani*)/ (Mod.) *vi:ti* (**iv-atti*), oblique base of *ivi* 'these things', also show the retention of the vowel quality after metathesis perhaps owing to their association with the corresponding nominative forms with *i*.

Kui ni:-ŋgi (all from PCDr. *in-akk(u)) with Ta. nin-akku and Ka. nin-age all of which mean 'to you (sg.)'. The Telugu accusative form nin(n)u-nu < pre-Te. in(n)u-n(u) did not undergo metathesis since, in this, the suffix begins not with a but with u; the initial n in this must be analogical to the oblique base ni:- that occurs in the remaining cases. That this is not a case of retention of PDr. *nin- will be evident from a comparison of this with mam(m)u-n(u) 'us (excl.)' and mim(m)u-n(u) 'you (pl., accus.)'; just as m has been added in the latter two forms in the initial position so has n been added in this form. Since the metathesized forms are found to occur in all the languages of the Telugu-Kuwi subgroup, this change should have taken place at the Proto-Telugu-Kuwi stage itself. ni:- must have spread from the dative and the genitive cases to the remaining oblique cases (except the accusative in Telugu) in these languages. In Telugu, earlier i:vu became ni:vu by the addition of an n initially on the analogy of the oblique base ni:- with an initial n. Similarly, in Konda, Kuwi and a dialect of Kui, earlier i:n became ni:n on the analogy of the oblique base. This change is not attributable to Proto-Telugu-Kuwi since it is absent in some of the languages derived from it (also note the dichotomy within the dialects of Kui).

5. Second Person Plural Pronoun (DR 3688)

5.1. Ta. (Old) ni:m, ni:r (also ni:rkaḷ in Middle Ta.), ni:yir, ni:vir, (Mod.) ni:ŋkaḷ, ni:r (first degree honorific sg. in Southern dialects) ([Old] num(m)-/ um(m)-, (Middle) num(m)-/ nuŋkaḷ-/ um(m)-/ uŋkaḷ-, [Mod.] uŋkaḷ-, um(m)- [corresponding to nominative ni:r of the Southern dialects])

Ma. niŋŋaḷ (niŋŋaḷ-)

Ir. ni:mu (nim-)

A:lu-Kurumba. niŋga (niŋga-)

Kod. niŋga (niŋga-)

Ko. ni:m (nim-)

To. nīm (nīm-)

Ka. (Old) ni:m, (later) ni:vu (nim(m)-)

Badaga. niŋga (niŋga-)

Tu. (NB.) iŋk(u)ḷu (iŋk(u)ḷe-)/niŋkḷu (niŋkḷe-), (SB.) iḷu, (SC) niḷk(u)ḷu, (NC) nigulu (nigule-/ nigale-), (C; B. uses it only while addressing a swamiji [religious head] of a Mutt) honorific sg. i:rī ([S.] i:re-, [N] i:re-/ ire-)

Koraga. nikili (nim(m)-; accus. nimu-nu, gen. nimm-a)

Te. (Old) i:ru, mi:ru, (later) mi:ru (mi:-; but [Old] mim(m)u- before accus. -n(u), [Mod.] mimmal- before accus. -ni)

Go. (Tr.) immaṭ, (W., Ph.) imma:t, (Betul, etc., U.) imaṭ/ umaṭ, (Mandla, U.) imahk/ imak, (SR., S.) nimet, (Mu.) nimaṭ, (L.) ni:mat [misprint for nimaṭ?], (North Bastar [plains], Adilabad, U.) nimaṭ/nimet, (Chandrapur, U.) mimaṭ/mimoṭ, (South Chandrapur, Adilabad, U.) mimet, (Muria, B.) nim(m)aṭ, (Ma., Abujh Maria, N., Maḍia. NM.) mi:t, (NW Bastar [Hills], NE Garhchiroli, U.) mi:t/mi:r, (ASu.) mira:t, (Bastar Maḍia, U.) mirar, (Koya Su.) mi:r (Te.), (SE Bastar, U.) mi:r/ mi:r (Te.) (mi:-; Koya Su. accus. mi:m-in)

Konda mi:r(u) (Te.)/ (BB) ni:m (mi:-)

Pe. e:p(eṇ), (rarely) e:peder (mi:-; accus.-dat. mi-ṇ(geṇ))

Mand. i:m (mi:-; accus.-dat. mi-ṇ)

Kui i:ru, (K.) mi:ru (mi:-)

Kuwi (F., S., P., Isr.) mi:mbu, (Su.) mi:ru (mi:-; accus.-dat. mi-ṇge/ mi-ṇgo, accus. also mi:m-a?ā)

Kol. Nk. ni:r (im-)

Nk. (Ch.) i:m (im-)

Pa. Ga. (Oll., S.) i:m (im-)

Kur. Malt. ni:m (nim-)

Br. num (num-)

PDr. *ni:m, *ni:r (*nim-)

5.2. The nominative forms of the 2nd person plural pronoun found in most of the languages are derived from PDr. *ni:m. But Ta. ni:r, Tu. i:ri, Old Te. i:ru, Go. mira:t (see §5.7), Kol. Nk. ni:r, Konda mi:ru and Kui i:ru/mi:ru --- all these look to PDr. *ni:r. It is certain that *ni:r also goes back to Proto-Dravidian for two reasons. First, the above-mentioned languages in which its reflexes occur belong to two different subgroups, namely South Dravidian and Central Dravidian. Secondly, and more importantly, the personal suffixes of the 2nd person plural finite verbs in almost all the languages are derived from PDr. *-i:r, which presupposes the existence of *ni:r as the corresponding pronoun at the Proto-Dravidian stage itself.²² Both the forms occur in the early Tamil literature (see §5.3). Although both

22. The 2nd person plural suffixes of finite verbs in almost all the Dravidian languages have r and yield the reconstruction PDr. *-i:r for it. Even the languages that do not retain the reflexes of *ni:r like Kurux-Malto and Brahui have only the reflexes of the

*ni:m and *ni:r have to be reconstructed for Proto-Dravidian, there are two reasons that force us to consider *ni:m to be the earlier one and *ni:r the later. One is that in the personal and the reflexive pronouns in Dravidian, *n* is the marker for the singular and *m* for the plural. In this pronoun also, therefore, the form with *m* should be more original. The second reason is that the oblique base of this pronoun, which can be reconstructed as *nim-, without any problem guarantees that *ni:m is more original than *ni:r. (The northern dialect of Tulu stands in isolation from other languages in having created the oblique base ire- that corresponds to i:rī (*ni:r) with a short vowel on the basis of the existing predominant pattern; it has i:re- with no shortening of the vowel as a free variant in that dialect but the latter form occurs alone in the southern dialect. The presence of the long vowel in the oblique base is suggestive of its recent origin. The other more widespread oblique base niŋkle-/ iŋkle-/ nigule- is from *nim-kal-.) We can easily imagine the reasons that led to the creation of *ni:r by the side of *ni:m. The plural marker -m is restricted to the personal and the reflexive pronouns while the plural marker *-r/*-ar/*-ir is more common than that since it occurs in the demonstrative and the interrogative pronouns and, more importantly, also in the nouns denoting human beings (males in Central Dravidian with the exception of Telugu) in all the Dravidian languages excepting Kota, Toda and Brahui (for details on this, see Subrahmanyam 1969b, Krishnamurti 2003:207-16). It is natural for languages to replace the less common suffix by its alternant that is more common. The form *ni:r with the more common suffix *r* in the place of *m* created in the later stages of Proto-Dravidian itself owes its existence to this process. While Tamil and Tulu retained both the forms, the other languages retained only one of the two. It may be noted here that in Telugu the replacement of *m* by *r* has taken place in the reflexive plural pronoun also. Old Telugu has both ta:mu and ta:ru while in (the northern dialects of) present day Telugu tamaru formed by adding to its oblique base tama- the plural suffix -ru is used as the 2nd person honorific singular that conveys more respect than mi:ru. The initial *n* has been lost in Tu. i:rī, iŋk(u)lu/iklu and in the Proto-Central Dravidian 2nd person singular and plural forms.

5.3. In Tamil, Malayalam and Kodagu and also in Tulu, the reflexes of the plural suffix *-kal have been added to *ni:m. This can be interpreted as a

2nd pl. *-i:r in finite verbs (Kur. -ar, -r, Malt. -er, -or, Br. -ire, -e:re, -re; see Subrahmanyam 1971:399-400). This suggests that the suffix was present in Proto-Dravidian and that it was inherited by them from that stage even if they did not have the reflexes of *ni:r in their respective pre- stages. This further leads us to the inescapable conclusion that *ni:r, of which the suffix is a copy, was present at the Proto-Dravidian stage. The reflexes of the personal suffix *-i:m that corresponds to the older *ni:m are found only in spoken Tamil (e.g., va-nt-iŋke for written va-nt-i:r(kal)) and Kota (the latter has both -i:m and -i:r). Go. -i:t shows the new plural suffix -t.

shared innovation in the first three languages mentioned above.²³ Similarly, Old Te. va:ralu (beside va:ru) 'they (hum., dist.)', vi:ralu (beside vi:ru) 'they (hum., prox.)', mi:ralu (beside mi:ru) 'you (pl.)' and Mod. Te. va:l̥lu 'they (hum., dist.)', vi:l̥lu 'id., prox.)', eva:l̥lu 'who (hum.)', mimmal-ni (accus. of mi:ru 'you (pl.)'), mammal-ni (accus. of me:m 'we (excl.)') and (dialectal) manal-ni (Old manala-n(u), accus. of manam 'we (incl.)') show the addition of the more common plural suffix -lu to the forms that already have the less common plural suffix -m or -r. Old Ta. ni:yir and ni:vir are formed by the addition of the plural suffix -ir to the 2nd person singular form ni: (y and v are glides). Of these, ni:yir is the form given by *Tolka:ppiyam* (Col-latika:ram, su:tras 188, 190) and it is more common than ni:r in the Old Tamil texts; ni:vir is the form given by the 14th century grammar *Nannu:l* (su:tra 286). Both ni:yir (e.g., *Pattuppa:ttu* 3.143, 4.28, 10.53) and ni:r (e.g., *Akana:nu:ru* 271.9, *Pattuppa:ttu* 6.738) occur in the Sangam texts. ni:rkaḷ with the additional plural suffix occurs besides the more common ni:r in the Middle Tamil texts *Na:la:yira Divyaprabandham* (in two places, see Devasahayam 1980: 1449) and in *Appar Te:va:ram* (7th century A.D.). ni:m, which must be older than ni:r (see §5.2), does not occur in the Sangam texts; its first recorded occurrence is only in *Ci:vakacinta:maṇi* (1932.3 [9th century A.D.]). ni:ṇkaḷ, derived from it by adding the plural suffix -kaḷ, occurs in *Appar Te:va:ram* (4.45.7). However, the oblique base num- that corresponds to ni:m is very common in Sangam Tamil and this fact guarantees the presence of ni:m in the language of that period. Its variant um- without the initial n also occurs rarely in Sangam Tamil (*Purana:nu:ru* 45.5, *Narriṇai* 368.3). These forms with the addition of pl. -kaḷ, that is, uṇkaḷ- and nuṇkaḷ- appear in the Middle Tamil works of the 8th and the 9th centuries A.D. and uṇkaḷ- continues into Modern Tamil; um(m)- also occurs in the southern dialects of the present day Tamil as the oblique base of ni:r, which is used as the 2nd person honorific singular (it is the first degree honorific while ni:ṇke is the second degree honorific in these dialects). (The references given above are from Shanmugam 1971a:188; I am benefited by further discussion with him on these points.)

5.4. The oblique base of this pronoun in Proto-Dravidian is *nim-. It remained as such in the proto stages of the South and the North Dravidian subgroups. In Old Tamil and Brahui, the i in this has changed to u presumably because of the following m. This must be a parallel development in these two languages. um(m)-, which resulted from num(m)-

23. On the position of Tulu in Dravidian, see Subrahmanyam 1968b. There it has been conclusively proved that Tulu is a member of the South Dravidian subgroup and that it first branched off from Proto-South Dravidian. The addition of -kaḷ in Kodagu in both the 1st and the 2nd plural forms clinches the close relationship of that language with Tamil-Malayalam (Subrahmanyam 1971:517-8).

through the loss of initial *n*, occurs in Sangam Tamil itself as noted above (§5.3; we may suspect that the analogical influence of the 1st person oblique bases with an initial vowel might have induced the loss of *n* in this case). This as well as *uṇkal-* with pl. *-kal* survived into Modern Tamil. As has been noted above (§4.3), *nin(n)-*, which is the oblique base of the 2nd person plural, slowly gave way to *un(n)-* attested in the Sangam period itself (*Akana:nu:ru* 222.2; Shanmugam 1971: 186). The *u* in *un(n)-* is due to the analogy of the corresponding plural form *um(m)-* or it will be still better to say that the whole form has been created on the analogy of *um(m)-*. In Malayalam, Kodagu, Toda, Tulu and in Brahui the oblique base itself additionally assumed the functions of the original nominative form.

5.5. In Proto-Central Dravidian, PDr. **nim-* became **im-* by the loss of the initial *n*. It remained as such in the Kolami-Parji subgroup but underwent metathesis in the Telugu-Kuwi subgroup as in the case of the other personal pronouns and became *mi:-* (see note 21); cf. Te. *mi:-kun*, Go. *mi:-k(u:n)*, Konḍa *mi-ṇi*, Pe. *mi-ṇgeṇ*, Kui *mi:-ngi* and Kuwi *mi-ṇge* with Old Ta. *num-akku* and Ka. *nim-age* all of which mean 'to you (pl.)'. As in the case of the other personal pronouns, the Telugu accusative form *mim(m)u-n(u)* < pre-Te. *im(m)u-n(u)* does not show metathesis; in this the initial *m* is due to analogy of the other more common oblique base *mi:-* that resulted through metathesis. The initial *m* in the nominative forms of Telugu, Gonḍi, Konḍa, Kui and Kuwi is analogical to the oblique base *mi:-* (see §6.4).

5.6. It is simpler to consider *ni:r* of Kolami (and of its dialect Naikṛi) as the direct reflex of PDr. **ni:r* than saying that that language borrowed *i:ru* from Old Telugu and later added *n* to it under the influence of the corresponding singular form *ni:v*. The latter explanation, which is admittedly cumbersome, was given by me earlier (Subrahmanyam 1967-68: 213) because of the fact that **ni:r* is not represented in Parji-Gadaba, which are closely allied to that language. It, however, need not be maintained since it is possible that the reflexes of both **ni:m* and **ni:r* could have been there in Proto-Kolami-Parji but only the reflexes of one of them survived into each of the daughter languages; the presence of *ni:r* in Kolami and of *i:m* in Naiki (Ch.), which is closer to the former, point to the fact that both were represented in the proto stage of these languages.

5.7. The multitude of forms recorded for the dialects of Gonḍi can be classified under the four broad types: (i) *nimVṭ/imVṭ/mimVṭ*, (ii) *mi:ṭ/mi:ṛ*, (iii) *mira:ṭ/mira:ṛ* and (iv) *mi:ṛ*. Of these, *nimVṭ* of the first type seems to be the most original one; it is derived from **ni:m* by the addition of *-Vṭ*, which is relatable to the 2nd person pl. *-ṭ* of the imperative and the prohibitive forms

of the Telugu-Kuwi subgroup (Subrahmanyam 1971: 494-7; in Gondi it spread to other finite verbs after the formation of this pronoun); the addition of the suffix caused the shortening of the root vowel. *imVt* shows loss of the initial *n* and *mimVt* resulted from this by the addition of *m* on the analogy of the oblique base. *mi:t/mi:r* of Maṛia and others appears to be created directly from the oblique base by the addition of pl. *-t* to it; the same process was extended later to the 1st person exclusive (see §2.6). The pl. *-t* must have spread from the imperative and the prohibitive forms first to the 2nd person plural pronoun, which serves as the agent for the former; it must have been extended then to the 1st person plural pronoun *ammat*, etc. It is tempting to consider *mi:r* of Koya and Bastar dialects as a loan from Telugu which is adjacent to them, but we cannot be certain about this since there is always the possibility of PDr. **ni:r* surviving into pre-Gondi; it is safer to think of areal influence from Telugu in the development **ni:r* > **i:r* > **mi:r*. *mira:t/ mira:r* is derived from this by the addition of pl. *-a:t/-a:r* to **mi:r*. The dialectal variation in the case of the 2nd person singular form is not so much as that in the corresponding plural form. The form is essentially *nimma/nimme* with the northernmost dialects containing the same form but without the *n* as in the case of the plural form. It has been newly created on the analogy of the corresponding plural form by cutting off the plural *-t* and has nothing to do with **ni:(n)*.²⁴ The presence of sg. (n)*imma/(n)imme* in all the dialects presupposes the presence of pl. *nimVt* in all of them at the earliest stage and confirms our earlier conclusion that it is the most original one.

5.8. Pe. *e:p(eη)*, *e:peder* and Kuwi *mi:mbu* seem to be derived from original **i:mp* < **i:m* (see also §2.5). The additional *-eη* that occurs optionally in all the personal pronouns of Pengo (1st sg. *a:n(eη)*, 1st pl. (excl.) *a:p(eη)*, (incl.) *a:s*, *a:heη* [rarely also *a:s(eη)*], 2nd sg. *e:n(eη)*, 2nd pl. *e:p(eη)* [rarely *e:peder*]) seems to be related to the allomorph *η(g)* of the neuter plural suffix occurring after nouns ending in a vowel (this is the conditioning that obtains in Gondi) in the Gondi-Kuwi subgroup. The Pengo forms of this suffix are *-iη* after disyllabic nouns ending in a consonant, *-(a)η* after masculine nouns (analogically instead of *-r*) and *-η* after nouns ending in a vowel (Burrow and Bhattacharya 1970:30-31). According to Burrow and Bhattacharya (1970:51), the forms with *-eη* are the normal ones and have a greater

24. Krishnamurti (1961:262) earlier explained that Go. *imma:* and *nimme:*, though plural in origin, had been first used in the singular as honorific forms and in due course became established as the singular forms. Fieldwork on some of the dialects of Gondi shows that in that language, as in many other tribal languages, the practice of using the plural form as honorific singular is non-existent. Such an explanation, therefore, is unfounded.

frequency. The analogical addition of this suffix to plural pronouns must have started first with the neuter plural pronouns *avaŋ* (cf. Go. *av*) 'they (neut., dist.)' and *ivaŋ* (cf. Go. *iv*) 'id. (prox.)' in which it has become a permanent addition unlike in the others (Burrow and Bhattacharya 1970: 54); note that Pengo created separate feminine plural pronouns by adding *-ek* (related to the *-k* plural suffix added to feminine nouns in Gondī-Kuwi): *av-ek/ev-ek* 'they (fem., dist.)', *iv-ek* 'id. (prox.)'. From the neuter forms, it must have analogically spread first to the plural personal pronouns and finally to the corresponding singular forms as well as to the neuter singular pronouns *adi/adaŋ* 'it (dist.)' (also *edi/edaŋ* with the same meaning) and *idi/idaŋ* 'it (prox.)'. Regarding *e:peder*, Burrow and Bhattacharya (1970:51) observe: 'An alternative form of the second person plural *e:peder* was occasionally recorded. In this form the termination of the second person plural (*-der*) which occurs in verbs, etc. has been added to the pronominal base.'

6. Summary

6.1. In Dravidian, the personal pronouns and the reflexive pronouns share the following two characteristic features that are not found elsewhere: (i) they have the markers *-n* for the singular and *-m* for the plural, and (ii) the oblique bases of them are formed by shortening the long vowel of their nominative forms.

6.2. It is of special interest to note that in later Malayalam, later Kannada and Kodagu, the principle of oblique base formation in these pronouns has been utilised to create new oblique bases after the nominative forms underwent change of shape (due either to pure sound change as in Malayalam or to analogy): Middle Ta. *naŋkaḷ-* and Ma. *ṇaŋṇaḷ-* in the place of earlier 1st excl. pl. *eŋṇaḷ-* (§2.3), Ka. 1st sg. *nan(n)-* (§1.6) and Kod. 1st sg. *nan-/na:-* (§1.6). In the case of the Kodagu form convergence from Kannada could be the cause (it cannot be a direct borrowing from Kannada because the full case forms in the two languages are not similar but show phonologically different case suffixes). Other probable cases of convergence that are noted in this study are: (i) the loss of exclusive-inclusive distinction in the nominative form of Kota (see note 17), (ii) the addition of *n* and *m* initially to the nominative forms in some of the languages (or dialects) of the Telugu-Kuwi subgroup, and (iii) Kod. 1st pl. *naŋ?ga-* (§2.4; note 10).

6.3. In Proto-Central Dravidian, both the 2nd person pronouns **ni:n* and **ni:m* and their oblique bases lost the initial *n*; this is a shared innovation in the Central Dravidian languages (see Subrahmanyam 1969a, §4).

6.4. In the languages of the Telugu-Kuwi subgroup of Central Dravidian, the oblique bases of the personal pronouns underwent metathesis when followed by the vowel *a* of the dative and the genitive cases.²⁵ The oblique bases that resulted through metathesis have been generalised for all the

25. According to Krishnamurti (1968, §§13, 18), the oblique bases of the Telugu-Kuwi subgroup resulted through the replacement of the original nominative/oblique relationship of the type (C₁)V:1C₂/(C₁)V1C₂- by the entirely new type (C₁)V:1C₂/(C₁)V:1-; this has led to the obliteration of the singular ~ plural contrast in the oblique bases but the contrast was restored by the morphological innovation of substituting *m*- for *n*- in the plural oblique bases. The weakness of this hypothesis is evident in many respects. First of all, no motivation is discernible for the replacement of the type that is prevalent everywhere else in Dravidian by a new type particularly when the latter involves the obliteration of the number distinction. It is logical to suppose that the oblique bases in Telugu-Kuwi are relatable to those found in other subgroups and, therefore, the theory that derives the former from the proto forms through metathesis definitely has an edge over that propounded by Krishnamurti. Secondly, according to his theory, the oblique bases *na:-*, *ma:-*, *ni:-* and *mi:-* presuppose the existence of the nominative forms **na:n*, **na:m* (or **ma:m*, so Krishnamurti 1961: 261), **ni:n* and **ni:m* respectively in Proto-Telugu-Kuwi. It is hardly possible to reconstruct these forms on the evidence of Telugu-Kuwi according to the usual procedures. The evidence for the first two forms is entirely lacking; for the third, only Konda, Kuwi and a dialect of Kui and, for the fourth, only a few dialects of Gondi have evidence (it is only indirect in the last mentioned case). Thirdly, even if it is a meaningful one, a sound that is lost through sound change is lost forever; the reintroduction of the same sound in some other position of the word is quite unheard of in historical linguistics. Since *m* is not productive as a plural suffix in the language, the occurrence of such a process is doubly suspect in this particular case. Finally, it is a notable fact that the reflexive pronouns, which usually share many properties with the personal pronouns, do not form their oblique bases in Telugu-Kuwi according to the principle advocated by Krishnamurti; cf. Te. (sg.) *tan(n)u-n(u)* (accus.)/ *tana-*, (pl.) *tam(m)u-n(u)* (accus.)/ *tama-*. This fact clearly shows that the alleged principle was simply not there even in the case of the personal pronouns. On the other hand, the reflexive pronouns will not pose any problem to the metathesis theory because the *t* in them prevents the operation of that process (the clusters *tn* and *tm* that would have otherwise resulted are not permissible in the language). In his recent work (2001:96), Krishnamurti tried to reject the explanation of metathesis in these forms by pointing out that metathesis operates only when the C₂ is a retroflex or a (non-nasal) alveolar and that 'There is no item involving a nasal as C₂ in the whole subgroup'. Here two things should be noted regarding metathesis. Firstly, it is only a tendency but not an exception-less rule; for example, there are numerous forms in Telugu like *araNṭi* 'plantain' (DR 205), *aracu* 'to cry' (DR 319), *aḍaṅgu* 'to be subdued' (DR 63), *purugu* 'worm' (DR 4312) in which it did not operate although the conditions are favourable. Secondly, if we go strictly by the rules laid down (on the basis of partial data), metathesis cannot be accepted as the explanation even in more transparent and indisputable cases like Te. *va:Nḍu* (**avant(u)*) 'he' and *va:ru* (**avar*) 'they (hum.)' and the corresponding proximate [*vi:Nḍu*, *vi:ru*] and interrogative [(Old) *ve:Nḍu*, *ve:ru*] pronouns since there is no other instance of metathesis when C₂ is *v* outside the class of pronouns. Similarly, in the case of *da:ni-* (**atan-*, cf. Go. *ta:na:-*), oblique base of *adi* 'she, it' and (Old) *va:ni-*/(Mod.) *va:ṭi-* (**avan-/avatt-*), oblique base of *avi* 'they (neut.)' (and the oblique bases of the corresponding proximate [*di:ni*, *vi:ni*/*vi:ṭi*] and interrogative [*de:ni-*] forms), one cannot say that the change involved is not metathesis because there are no other instances (outside personal pronouns) for that change when *d/v* is the C₂ (see note 21). Metathesis is the most straightforward and satisfactory explanation

oblique cases (excepting the accusative of Telugu) in these languages. This is one of the important shared innovations of the Telugu-Kuwi subgroup (see Subrahmanyam 1969a, §13). On the analogy of the oblique bases beginning with *n/m*, the nominative forms of some of these languages, that is, later Telugu, Konda, Kuwi and some dialects of Gondi and Kui took on *n/m* initially.²⁶ This can be attributed only to the later stage (of Telugu) or only to some of the dialects of these languages; it, therefore, must be a parallel development in them. As has been noted in §0.3, the statistical preponderance of the oblique base enables it to exert influence on the nominative form to take an additional sound or even to replace the latter (see §6.5). It is also possible that this feature first originated in Telugu and then spread from it to the other neighbouring languages.²⁷ In Telugu, the accusative case forms also took on *n* (sg.) and *m* (pl.) initially on the analogy

available for these forms. For example, deriving the 1st pl. (excl.) oblique base **ma:-* from the oblique base PDr. **yam-a-* PCDr. **am-a-* is far more plausible than deriving it (with Krishnamurti) from the nominative form **na:m* (or **ma:m*), which is required for Proto-Telugu-Kuwi but cannot be reconstructed from the cognates available in the concerned languages because of the variation in the vowel and other problems (Te. *e:mu/me:mu*, Kui *a:mu/ma:mu*, etc.).

26. See also Subrahmanyam 1969a, §13. It is important to note that Burrow (1968: 117) has already hinted at this kind of explanation for the 1st person exclusive plural forms (both nominative and oblique) of these languages when he said: 'In Telugu, Kui and Gondi the oblique cases of these pronouns begin with **m-** as a result of aphaeresis of the initial vowel... From these forms **m-** is extended to the nominative...'. Note that Krishnamurti (2001:97) is wrong in saying that I have explained the nominative forms of Telugu-Kuwi as resulting from metathesis ('...Subrahmanyam's assumption of **m**-initial plural forms by metathesis (from something like **im-i-*) in South-Central Dravidian.').
27. According to Krishnamurti's earlier view (1968, §§5-8, 13), the 1st person singular forms with the initial *n* of Tamil, Kannada, Kodagu, Telugu, Gondi, Konda, Kui and Kuwi and Ma. *ña:n* are all derived from PDr. **ña:n*; he now modifies this view and reconstructs **ña:n* for the common proto stage of South Dravidian and Telugu-Kuwi instead of for Proto-Dravidian (2001:94, 97). He assumes that **ña:n* was created on the analogy of the inclusive plural (which he reconstructs as **ña:m*) and that both **ya:n* and **ña:n* were of equal antiquity. Two points, both equally strong, which are against the hypothesis of reconstructing **ña:n* to any proto stage are the following. One is the fact that the *ñ/n* forms do not appear in the earliest stages but do so only in the later stages of all the three literary languages, Tamil, Kannada and Telugu; Krishnamurti's claim (2001: 95) that 'their surfacing in literature much later could be easily explained on sociolinguistic grounds' has no supporting evidence. Although attestation in the literature is not always compelling, the occurrence of the same situation in three languages cannot be easily ignored. The second one is the absence of *n-* forms in Kota-Toda, Tulu and Pengo-Manda and some of the dialects of Gondi and Kui. Reconstructing a form on the basis of the evidence of only some of the daughter languages concerned and saying that they are lost in the other languages will only be circular when there is no further supporting evidence (Subrahmanyam 2003:230, 2004:199). However, the absence of the corresponding oblique base in many languages (the only exceptions being later Kannada and Kodagu) is not necessarily indicative of the later origin of these forms since there are good grounds for claiming **ni:r* to be Proto-Dravidian although it lacks an oblique base of its own in all languages except Tulu.

of the metathesized oblique base, which is statistically more common: 1st sg. *an(n)u-n(u) > nan(n)u-n(u), 1st excl. pl. *am(m)u-n(u) > mam(m)u-n(u), 2nd sg. *in(n)u-n(u) > nin(n)u-n(u), 2nd pl. *im(m)u-n(u) > mim(m)u-n(u). The analogical spread in the accusative forms must be anterior to that in the nominative forms since, unlike in the latter case, the forms without n/m are not attested in the former.

6.5. In many Dravidian languages, the oblique base of a personal pronoun replaced the original nominative form and thereby became the nominative form also (see §§0.3, 6.4). This development is seen in Malayalam (1st pl. [excl.], 2nd pl.), Toda (1st pl. [excl. as well as incl.], 2nd pl.), Kodagu (1st pl., 2nd pl.), Tulu (1st pl. [excl. as well as incl.], 2nd pl.), Telugu (1st pl. [incl.]), Maria Gondi (1st pl., 2nd pl.) and Brahui (1st pl., 2nd pl.).²⁸

6.6. In addition to the more original 2nd person plural pronoun *ni:m, another form *ni:r has been created in the later stages of Proto-Dravidian itself by substituting the more common (human) plural suffix -r in the place of the less common -m (§§5.2, 5.3).²⁹

28. This phenomenon is found in the Badaga dialect of Kannada in 1st pl. exclusive and inclusive and the 2nd pl. The Badaga personal pronouns greatly vary from the (later) Kannada forms not only in having the inclusive ~ exclusive distinction but also in the shape of the forms themselves. There seems to be much influence of Tamil and Kota-Toda on it (for a discussion, see Emeneau 1967a: 391-92). As explained by Emeneau, the retention of the inclusive ~ exclusive distinction in this dialect (from the Old Kannada period) owes its existence 'to a stimulus diffusion from the Nilgiris languages'. The same stimulus could also be responsible for the replacement of the nominative form by the corresponding oblique form in the plural pronouns. Regarding the phonological shapes of these forms, Emeneau just noted that the Nilgiris forms cannot be the origin of the Badaga forms and left the matter there. The influence of (spoken) Tamil can be suspected in the following matters: (i) 1st sg. na: seems to be a loan from Tamil (it cannot be derived from later Ka. na:nu because the oblique base of Old Ka. en- is retained; another possibility would be to consider both the nominative and the oblique forms as loans from Tamil). (ii) 2nd sg. ni: instead of Ka. ni:nu also looks like a loan from Tamil but its oblique base nin- is native. (iii) The addition of the plural suffix -ka| and especially the loss of | in it to the forms continuing from Old Kannada, namely 1st excl. em-, incl. nam- and 2nd pl. nim- must also be due to the influence of Tamil (direct borrowing is also a possibility in the case of the first form; the other forms, then, could be analogical creations on the basis of it [note: mk > ɳg]).

29. Krishnamurti (1968: 204-5) earlier considered the replacement of pl. -m by -r in this form in some languages of both the South and the Central Dravidian subgroups as 'an areal feature, and not a feature ascribable to Proto-Dravidian' since 'the languages involved are geographically but not genetically contiguous' and since 'Kurux and Malto do not show this morph replacement'; in recent times, he (2001:97) takes it as an innovation in the proto stage of South Dravidian and Telugu-Kuwi. Here, a considerable number of languages, that is, Tamil and Tulu of South Dravidian and Telugu, Kui, Kuwi, Konda, Kolami and Naiki of Central Dravidian are involved. Thus, the presence of the form in more than one subgroup itself is in favour of considering

6.7. The study of the personal pronouns provides part of the evidence for the establishment of the following subgroups or sub-subgroups:

- (i) Tamil-Malayalam-Koḍagu-Kota-Toda (loss of the final *n* in 2nd sg. [§4.2]).
- (ii) Tamil-Malayalam-Koḍagu ([a] addition of the more common plural suffix *-kaḷ* to the 1st exclusive plural [§2.3] and to the 2nd plural [§5.3]); [b] creation of the new oblique base **naṇkaḷ-* for 1st plural (excl.) [§2.4]).
- (iii) Kota-Toda (loss of the initial *n* in 1st inclusive plural [§3.6]).
- (iv) Central Dravidian (PDr. **yan-* > *an-* [§1.5]), **yam-* > *am-* [§2.3]), loss of initial *n* in 2nd singular and plural [§4.2]).
- (v) Telugu-Kuwi (metathesis in the oblique bases [§§1.7, 2.5, 4.4, 4.5]).
- (vi) Pengo-(Manda)-Kui-Kuwi (creation of the new inclusive pl. **a:r* [§2.7]).
- (vii) Kurux-Malto (change of the original dative case form as the oblique base ([§§1.5, 4.3])).

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**ni:r* to be of Proto-Dravidian. Moreover, although **ni:r* is not represented in North Dravidian, the 2nd person plural pronominal suffixes of verbs in them as well as in almost all other languages contain *r*; this requires the reconstruction of this suffix for Proto-Dravidian as **-i:r* (beside the more original **-i:m*, see note 22). PDr. **-i:r* stands as incontrovertible evidence for reconstructing **ni:r* for Proto-Dravidian. Shanmugam's hypothesis (1971a: 190-91) that *ni:r* is from *ni:y-ir* **ni:nn-ir* bristles with many phonological and other problems. First of all, when both *ni:r* and *ni:yir* occur in the Sangam texts, there is no compelling reason for deriving one from the other. Secondly, to say that the 2nd person plural suffix (of finite verbs) **-i:r/*-ir* is added to the 2nd person singular pronoun for the creation of the corresponding plural pronoun is to put the cart before the horse. The personal suffix could not have existed at a time when there was no pronoun that phonologically corresponds to it since the former always crops up in conformity with the latter but not vice versa. Thirdly, the change *n* > *y* is phonetically impossible and the two examples given for this can be more satisfactorily explained otherwise. In *a:n* 'cow' and *a:y-an* 'herdsman' (DR 334), *a:* is the root (which itself occurs independently also), *n* and *y* are different derivative elements (cf. *a:y* 'the cowherd caste'). In *ko:n* 'king' and *ko:yil* 'palace, temple' (DR 2177), the root is *ko:* (which itself can occur independently), *n* is the masculine suffix (cf. *aracu/arac-an* 'king' [D201]) and *y* a glide or a derivative element.

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A HANDBOOK OF KERALA (Vol. 1)

T. Madhava Menon (Ed.), 2000, HB, Demy 1/4, pp. xii+373, Rs. 1,000/- (US\$ 125/-)

In its series of *handbooks* of various States in India, of the ISDL, the 2-volume set on Kerala by T. Madhava Menon (IAS Retd.), is now published. The first volume covers the physiography, geography and physical features of the State, its forests, fauna and flora, history, religion and economy. The prehistorical foundations of Kerala have been detailed by Prof. Rajendran. Because of the facilities available in the ISDL, the section on history is based on a more intensive interpretation of Tamil sources. In the section on religion, folk belief-systems of the sociology of religious changes and the rituals of Hindu forms of worship have been described. The section contains articles on Buddhism, Jainism, Judaism, Christianity and Islam. There are articles on temple architecture, with illustrations. The section on economy contains contributions from some of the most eminent authors on this subject. The *Kerala Model*, out-migration, demographic transition and stagnation have also been analyzed.

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LINGUISTIC HERITAGE OF SOUTH INDIAN TRIBES^{*}

B. RAMAKRISHNA REDDY

Hyderabad

When scholars talk about linguistic heritage, they generally refer to the literary or grammatical works that exist in the written tradition, for example Panini's *Aṣṭa:dhyā.yi* in Sanskrit or Tolkappiyar's *Tolkappiyam* in Tamil or such other works are cited as representatives (Annamalai, 2000). In our case, it is the heritage of spoken word that deserves attention. Though, the ancient Sanskrit works do not bother to mention the names and characteristics of ancient tribal people, from historical and archaeological evidence, it is clear that the indigenous people lived and used their languages in this subcontinent even during the pre-Vedic period (Burrow, 1958 and Levi et al., 1929). The existence of many tribal communities, which are part of the Harappan Civilization and their culture and languages have laid foundation for Indian heritage as outlined by Subramoniam (1995) in some detail. In fact, we all know that even the Vedas were part of an oral tradition before they were rendered to graphization. The ancient tribal people had expressed, like all human societies all over the world, their experience, concepts, wisdom, suffering, joy, social relations and other acts of everyday life in their spoken word as well as in the oral literature. This treasure of knowledge consisting of ancient values, human dignity, equality of persons, respect for nature etc., were passed on to the successive generations by the tribal population. A close observation of the ordinary life of a simple tribal community either in the Himalayas or in Central India or in the South is sufficient to convince anyone that the humane values among tribal people are much to offer to the so-called civilized world. It is this type of heritage that is encoded into the tribal languages in their literary output consisting of mythical stories, narrations, poetry, proverbs, riddles, idioms and other discourse genres.

* Endowment Lecture delivered by B. Ramakrishna Reddy of Hyderabad under the Telugu Endowment. Two lectures one on 16th and another on 17th November 2005 were attended by linguists in the I.S.D.L. and Kerala University. One lecture on Tribe, which is masterly, is printed now. The other one will appear in the next issue.

India is rich in having the oral as well as written literature. There is an enormous amount of oral literature among the rural and tribal people, which is yet to be put into writing. Oral literature is found in the form of tales, narratives, songs, fables, apologues, plays, ballads, epics, proverbs, idioms, charms, riddles and jokes. There are certain unique characteristics of oral (i.e. folk and tribal) literature when compared with and contrasted against the written literature. The following unique features may be relevant in the Indian context (Nagamma Reddy & Ramakrishna Reddy, 2001).

Oral literature	Written literature
(i) A product of group or society. May be traditionally inherited.	Individual's imaginative creation.
(ii) Social or group activity with performers and audience i.e. target is people at large.	Shared by the literature readers only and intended for them.
(iii) Spontaneous creativity, even in re-narration.	Planned composition.
(iv) Mass based, people- oriented.	Elitist, intended for literates.
(v) Exponent of living culture in its theme(s).	Concentrates on selective aspect(s).
(vi) Dynamic literature as it depends upon and suffers from memory of performers, accommodating changes like additions, substitutions, creations and improvisations.	'Static with hardly any room for change; sometimes deals with established theme and style.
(vii) Concerned with speaking, singing (narrating) and listening with scope for narrative articulations, phonational parameters, rhythm, stress, accent and other suprasegmentals.	Concerned with writing and reading without any representations of suprasegmental features, rhythm and voice quality.
(viii) The creator is anonymous.	Author is the signatory of creation.

- (ix)

Language variety is that of rural, regional, social dialect with idiomatic expressions, proverbs, sayings and filled with native vocabulary.

Modern standard or classical variety with Sanskritization/Anglicization, resulting in lexical borrowings.
- (x)

Speech is replete with simple sentences, conventional motifs, episodes and formulaic expressions.

Complex and compound sentences with passive voice. Impact of Sanskrit, English and other languages.

Language is a socio-historical heritage. A child born and brought up in particular community acquires the language spoken around him. Any human language is used both as a medium of learning as well a medium of social interaction. In both of these spheres, the language under focus imposes certain constraints on the speaker, as it is a traditional socio-historical product. Though, the speakers continuously innovate, borrow, mix and thereby enrich the language, still the speakers are at the mercy of language structure in several ways (as claimed by the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis), the best example being the basic colour terms across human languages.

II

The South Asian subcontinent, as on today, is the homeland of speakers belonging to at least four distinct language families, namely, Dravidian, Austro-Asiatic, Indo-Aryan and Tibeto-Burman, besides a few unclassified language isolates. Regarding the number of languages spoken in India, there is a considerable uncertainty as organizations such as the Census of India; Anthropological Survey etc. put forward different numbers. However, linguists involved in fieldwork estimate the number to be around 200 or so. Out of these, almost 80% of the languages are spoken by the tribal communities across the country, though the population is less than 80%. Both Austro-Asiatic and Tibeto-Burman (with one exception) are exclusively spoken by tribal people. Even within Dravidian 75% are tribal languages. A tentative family-wise number of tribal and other languages are as given hereunder:

Family	Tribal Languages	Non-Tribal Languages	Total
Dravidian	24	6	30
Austro-Asiatic	20	-	20
Indo-Aryan	20	30	50
Tibeto-Burman	99	1	100
Others	10	-	10
Total	173	37	210

From the perspectives of sociolinguistics, the languages of India can be classified in the following dichotomous fashion (a) Literary-non literary (b) Written-Oral (spoken) (c) Major - minor (d) Developed - undeveloped (e) Scheduled (Constitution recognized) - unscheduled (f) Dominating - dominated (g) Used in wider domains - limited domains of use (h) Sustained [retained] - endangered, and (i) Non-tribal - tribal. In this dichotomous classificatory situation, the tribal languages are relegated to the disadvantaged traits of the latter in each pair

Linguistic hierarchy in ancient India (Despande, 1979) was in the order of Sanskrit, Prakrit, Apabhramsa and Paisachi 'non-Aryan speech'. Fusion of Aryan and non-Aryan elements and mutual impact continued for over 4000 years. Interaction of Aryan and non-Aryan is recorded and revealed in language, literature, archaeology and ethnic sciences. According to Basham (1979), Munda (Austro-Asiatic) languages represent the earliest inhabitants of India as living here from the Palaeolithic age. Dravidian languages were introduced by Palaeo-Mediterranean migrants who moved to India in the Neolithic period. Indo-Aryan languages were brought to India by the Aryans in the second millennium B.C.

Movement of population into South Asia is taken to be in the chronological order of Negroid, Austric, Dravidian, Aryan and Mongoloid. Aryan and non-Aryan interaction in ancient India started much earlier than the Vedic period of 2000 B.C. Rigveda is said to have been composed around 1500 B.C. The non-Aryans were considered substandard people and referred to as *daasa varNa* 'Dasa colour', *adeeva* 'the godless', *ayajyavah* 'non-sacrificers', *anindra* 'non-believers in Indra', *muura deeva* 'worshippers of dummy Gods', *SiSna deeva* 'worshippers of phallic gods' and *mridhra vaacah* 'those whose language was obscure and unintelligible'; while *mleecha* was 'a non-Aryan', *asura* was an Aryanised non-Aryan (cf. Deshpande 1979). Non-recognition of small identities and relegation of tribal people and their languages have been the attitude of majority communities from the Vedic period onwards which trend continues even today, in the so-called scientific democratic age.

Subramoniam's (1995) monograph *Language multiplicity and ancient races in India* takes a fresh look at the Aryan and non-Aryan contacts in the realms of rituals, culture and language from the pre-Harappan period onwards. The treatment of Dravidian and other tribal communities at the hands of dominating Aryans is well brought out. The salient characteristics of each of the tribal groups and inter-influences between the Aryan and

non-Aryan way of life, together with the enumeration and movement of ancient races in India can be fruitfully learnt from this short but an illuminating research work.

III

The tribal languages spoken in South India belong mainly to the Dravidian group, though there are a few non-Dravidian languages also. One of the problems encountered in the enumeration of tribal and minor languages is that of confusion between language and community on the one hand, and language and dialect on the other. Though both anthropologists and linguists have been involved in studying the tribal populations, there are still many grey areas where the information is lacking in certain respects. However, a recent survey under the aegis of the Anthropological Survey of India provides certain details regarding the name of the tribal community, its habitat and the languages used by the people at Home (H) and outside for wider communication with non-tribal populations (Singh, 1994).

Sl. No.	Name of Community	State(s) of Residence	Language(s) Used
1.	Adiyan	Kerala	Malayalam
2.	Andh	Andhra Pradesh Maharashtra	Telugu (H), Marathi
3.	Aranadan/Arandan	Kerala	Malayalam
4.	Bagata/Bagatha	Andhra Pradesh, Orissa	Telugu, Oriya (H)
5.	Banjara	Orissa, Andhra Pradesh	Banjari or Lambadi (H), Telugu
6.	Chenchu	Andhra Pradesh	Telugu
7.	Eravallan	Tamil Nadu, Kerala	Tamil, Malayalam
8.	Gadaba	Orissa, Andhra Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh	Gadaba (H), Gutob (H), Telugu, Oriya
9.	Gond/Gondaru	Karnataka	Kannada
10.	Gond	Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Orissa	Gondi (H), Telugu Hindi
11.	Gowdalu	Karnataka	Kannada, Telugu (H)

12.	Hakkipikki	Karnataka	Kannada, Vaghri (H)
13.	Hasala/Hasalaru	Karnataka	Kannada
14.	Hill Pulaya	Kerala	Malayalam
15.	Hill Pulaya, Karavazhi	Kerala	Malayalam
16.	Hill Pulaya, Kurumba	Kerala	Malayalam, Kannada (H)
17.	Irular	Tamil Nadu, Kerala Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh	Irula (H), Tamil, Malayalam, Telugu
18.	Jatapu/Jatapu Dora	Andhra Pradesh, Orissa	Kuvi (H), Telugu, Oriya
19.	Kadar	Kerala, Tamil Nadu	Kadar (H), Malayalam
20.	Kammara/Ozulu	Andhra Pradesh	Telugu
21.	Kanikkar	Kerala, Tamil Nadu	Kanikkar (H), Malayalam
22.	Kaniyar	Karnataka, Tamil Nadu	Malayalam, Tamil
23.	Kattunaikan	Kerala, Tamil Nadu	Kattunaikan (H), Tamil, Malayalam, Kannada
24.	Kochu Velan	Kerala	Malayalam
25.	Kolam	Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh	Kolami (H), Telugu, Marathi
26.	Koli, Dhor/Kolcha	Dadra & Nagar Haveli, Maharashtra, Karnataka, Gujarat	Marathi (H), Kannada
27.	Konda Dora	Andhra Pradesh, Orissa	Konda (H), Telugu
28.	Konda Kammara	Andhra Pradesh	Telugu
29.	Konda Kapu	Andhra Pradesh	Telugu
30.	Konda Reddi	Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu	Telugu
31.	Kondh/Kond/ Kandha	Orissa, Andhra Pradesh	Kuvi (H), Telugu, Oriya

32.	Koraga	Karnataka, Kerala	Koraga (H), Tulu, Kannada, Malayalam
33.	Kota	Tamil Nadu	Kota (H), Tamil
34.	Kotia	Orissa, Andhra Pradesh	Oriya (H), Telugu
35.	Kotia, Benthoriya	Andhra Pradesh	Oriya (H), Telugu
36.	Koya	Lakshadweep	Malayalam, Urdu, Dweep Bhasha (H)
37.	Koya	Andhra Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa	Koya (H), a dialect of Gondi, Telugu
38.	Koya, Dora	Andhra Pradesh	Koya (H), Telugu
39.	Koya, Konda Rajulu	Andhra Pradesh	Koya (H), Telugu
40.	Koya, Racha	Andhra Pradesh, Maharashtra	Koya (H), Telugu
41.	Kudiya	Karnataka, Kerala	Kodagu, Tulu (H), Kannada
42.	Kuliya	Andhra Pradesh	Oriya (H), Telugu
43.	Kurichian/ Kurichchian- Kurichian Pathri	Kerala	Malayalam, Kannada
44.	Kuruman	Tamil Nadu, Kerala	Kannada (H), Tamil
45.	Kuruman, Mullu	Kerala	Kannada (H), Malayalam
46.	Kuruman, Urali	Kerala	Kannada (H), Malayalam
47.	Kurumba	Tamil Nadu, Kerala	Kannada (H), Tamil
48.	Kurumba, Alu	Tamil Nadu	Kannada (H), Tamil
49.	Kurumba, Jenu	Karnataka	Kannada
50.	Kurumba, Kadu	Karnataka	Kannada
51.	Kurumba, Mullu	Tamil Nadu	Kannada (H), Tamil
52.	Lambadi	Andhra Pradesh	Banjara (H), Telugu
53.	Maha Malasar	Kerala, Tamil Nadu	Tamil, Malayalam

54.	Malai Arayan - Christian	Kerala	Malayalam
55.	Mala Kuruvan	Tamil Nadu	Tamil
56.	Malai Vedan	Tamil Nadu	Tamil, Malayalam
57.	Malaikudi	Karnataka, Kerala	Kannada, Malayalam
58.	Malasar	Kerala, Tamil Nadu	Malayalam, Tamil
59.	Malaya Pandaram	Kerala	Malayalam, Tamil
60.	Malayali	Tamil Nadu	Tamil
61.	Malayan	Kerala	Malayalam
62.	Malayan, Kongu	Kerala	Malayalam
63.	Malayan, Nattu	Kerala	Malayalam
64.	Maleru	Karnataka	Tulu (H), Kannada
65.	Mali	Andhra Pradesh	Telugu, Oriya(H),
66.	Malmi	Lakshadweep	Malayalam
67.	Manikfan	Lakshadweep	Mahl (H) (a dialect related to Sinhalese)
68.	Mannan	Kerala	Tamil (H), Malayalam
69.	Manne Dora	Andhra Pradesh	Telugu
70.	Marati	Karnataka, Kerala	Marathi (H), Tulu, Kannada, Malayalam
71.	Meda	Karnataka	Kodagu (H), Kannada
72.	Melacheri	Lakshadweep	Malayalam
73.	Muduvan/Muthuvan	Tamil Nadu, Kerala	Tamil, Malayalam
74.	Mudugar	Kerala	Muduga (H), Malayalam
75.	Mukha Dora	Andhra Pradesh	Telugu
76.	Naikpod	Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh	Telugu (H), Marathi
77.	Nayak	Andhra Pradesh	Telugu
78.	Nayaka	Karnataka	Kannada
79.	Palliyan	Tamil Nadu, Kerala	Tamil
80.	Paniyan	Kerala, Tamil Nadu	Malayalam

81. Pardhan	Andhra Pradesh, Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh Chattisgarh	Gondi (H), Telugu
82. Paroja	Orissa, Andhra Pradesh	Paroja (H), Telugu Oriya
83. Raveri	Lakshadweep	Mahl (H), Malayalam, Hindi
84. Reddi Dora	Andhra Pradesh	Telugu
85. Rona	Andhra Pradesh	Oriya (H), Telugu
86. Saora	Orissa, Andhra Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, West Bengal	Savara (H), Telugu, Oriya
87. Saora, Kapu	Andhra Pradesh	Savara (H), Telugu, Oriya
88. Soliga/Soligaru	Karnataka, Tamil Nadu	Kannada, Tamil
89. Soliga, Urali Sholagar	Tamil Nadu	Urali (H), Tamil, Kannada
90. Sugali	Andhra Pradesh	Banjara (H), Telugu
91. Thakru	Lakshadweep	Mahl (H), Malayalam, Hindi
92. Thakrufan	Lakshadweep	Mahl (H), Malayalam, Hindi
93. Toda	Tamil Nadu	Toda (H), Tamil Nadu
94. Ulladan	Kerala	Malayalam
95. Uraly	Kerala	Uraly (H), Malayalam, Tamil
96. Valmiki	Andhra Pradesh	Telugu
97. Yanadi	Andhra Pradesh	Telugu
98. Yanadi, Challa	Andhra Pradesh	Telugu
99. Yerava	Karnataka	Kannada
100. Yerukula	Andhra Pradesh	Yerukala (H), Telugu

101. Yerukula, Kapparallatippa	Andhra Pradesh	Yerukala (H), Telugu
102. Yerukula, Katherollu	Andhra Pradesh	Yerukala (H), Telugu
103. Yerukula, Koravar	Andhra Pradesh	Yerukala (H), Telugu
104. Yerukula, Kuncheti	Andhra Pradesh	Yerukala (H), Telugu
105. Yerukula, Pachchabotla	Andhra Pradesh	Yerukala (H), Telugu

There are 105 communities (including some segments) listed in all, spread over five regions - Kerala, Lakshadweep, Tamil Nadu, Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh (incidentally, there are no tribal communities in the Union Territory of Pondicherry). But only 33 languages are noticed as spoken by these communities either as home language [H] or mother tongue or language for outside communication, i.e. ingroup as well as inter-group communication. Many tribal communities have declared non-tribal languages like Tamil, Malayalam, Kannada, Telugu and Tulu as their first language. This situation attracts either of the following two interpretations: (i) The particular tribal group(s) might have had a distinct language as its native speech but it had lost it in course of time under pressure; for example Konda Kapu, Konda Reddi and others. (ii) The tribe might have been speaking a dialect as its native tongue, as is the case with most of the tribal communities of Kerala in having Malayalam as the first language.

Apart from the above six non-tribal Dravidian languages (i.e. Ta., Ma., Ka., Te., Tulu, Kodagu), there are another 17 Dravidian tribal speeches declared as home languages, namely, Gadaba, Gondi, Kuvi, Irula, Muduga, Kadar, Kanikkar, Kattunaikar, Kolami, Koya, Konda, Paroja, Urali, Koraga, Kota, Toda and Yerukala. Out of these, Gadaba, Gondi, Kuvi, Irula, Kolami, Kota and Toda are treated as independent languages, the status of the rest (whether they are languages or varieties of some other language) has yet to be decided, which needs an in depth sociolinguistic study of the region. Thus there are a total of 23 Dravidian languages/speeches identifiable distinctly spoken by the tribal population of the South either as home languages or in communication with other speech groups.

Besides, there are 8 languages belonging to the Indo-Aryan family that are in use either as home language or as language of outside communication. These include Banjara (Lambadi), Vaghri, Mahl, Dweep Bhasha, Oriya, Marathi, Hindi and Urdu. The first four are tribal speeches, the rest are major non-tribal languages, but used by tribes for inter-group

communication purposes. Banjara speakers are spread throughout Andhra Pradesh and parts of Karnataka. The Vaghri speakers are a nomadic tribe that one can come across at several places. Some of them are settled in government-provided housing near Kuppam, Chittoor District, Andhra Pradesh. Mahl and Dweep Bhasha are used in Lakshadweep. Hindi and Urdu are noticed as languages of wider communication of certain tribal groups whereas Marathi and Oriya are spoken as home languages by some tribes and as inter-group communication languages by certain other tribal communities.

There are two languages, namely, Savara and Gutob (Gadaba) belonging to the Munda subgroup of the Austro-Asiatic family spoken in Andhra Pradesh. Savara speakers live in Srikakulam district, while the Gutob speakers are found in the Salur area of Vizianagaram district. Both the groups are trilingual knowing their mother tongue, Telugu and Oriya. The Gadaba situation is ethno-linguistically unique in that here is a single ethnic tribal community i.e. Gadaba, speaking languages belonging to two different language families. The Gutob (Gadaba) is a member of Munda family of languages with its typical linguistic characteristics, while the other Gadaba is a member of the Dravidian group. In other words, it is a unique situation of a culturally homogenous ethnic community speaking languages of two different genetic families.

Another important feature to be noticed is that most of the speakers of tribal languages are bilingual except in the case of language loss like some of the Kerala tribes. Trilingualism or multilingualism is also noticed in certain contexts with tribal communities. Bilingualism in the Indian context is a product of social contact between linguistic groups, which lays foundation for cultural convergence at the conceptual, pragmatic level. This cultural convergence in turn paves the way for linguistic convergence, wherein the speakers evolve a common core grammar that triggers in encoding of two or three grammars. In other words, linguistic convergence contributes to language retention rather than language loss. It is the diffusion of phonological, grammatical and lexical rules across genetic boundaries, which has given birth to India as a linguistic area (Emeneau, 1956). Socio-political and cultural interaction between tribal and non-tribal communities has resulted, through language contact, in linguistic convergence wherein the minor tribal languages have left their impact on major linguistic groups (Ramakrishna Reddy, 1992). In the South Indian situation, it appears that we have the instance of both language loss and retention. The factors for loss and how to contain them are taken up in the following sections.

IV

Several socio-political factors decide the status of a particular group of people and their languages in a polycultural, multilingual society like India. The prestige of its speakers, the domains of language use, the communication network, the attitude of other linguistic groups, the support of and recognition by the Governmental agencies etc., decide the place given to a particular language in comparison with other languages. At the national level there has been a policy of 'leave alone' towards minor and tribal languages. Moreover, the spoken languages of tribes were never respected for their rich oral literature though they represent and preserve the Indian heritage. The Sanskritic *maarga* tradition of culture, language, religion, ritual and philosophy has been dominating the *deesi* 'native' tradition of tribes and rural folk. Furthermore, the processes of Aryanization and Sanskritization have been absorbing aspects of native elements in culture, relegating them, in turn, to the status of minor and tribal practices, for example many lexical items of flora and fauna are borrowed into Sanskrit from the Austro-Asiatic and the Dravidian (Burrow, 1958).

The constitution of India in its Eighth Schedule has accorded recognition to the following 22 languages: Assamese, Bangla, Bodo, Dogri, Gujarati, Hindi, Kannada, Kashmiri, Konkani, Maithili, Santali, Malayalam, Manipuri, Marathi, Nepali, Oriya, Punjabi, Sanskrit, Sindhi, Tamil, Telugu and Urdu. The rest of about 180 Indian languages have no mention in the Constitution. The criteria of recognition are not clear, though several interpretations of the act are possible (See Gupta et al. (Eds.), 1995). Linguists, anthropologists, legal experts and other social scientists have denounced it as atrocious, anti-people, colonial and domination of majority groups. They suggest scraping of the eighth schedule and according an equal status of all languages of India including tribal languages (cf. Pattanayak 1995, Roy Burman 1995, and Nayyar 1995).

Most of the scheduled languages are official languages (except Sanskrit, Santali, Bodo, Dogri, Maithili and Sindhi) of the Central/State Governments and they get sufficient funds for their development. The language policy of the Government is hypocritical with reference to minor and tribal languages. Though the minority commission as well as the Constitution have provision for instruction in mother tongue at the primary level, it is followed neither by the State nor the Central Government. The formation of the linguistic states has emerged as another hurdle in the development of the tribal languages. No State in the country is monolingual and the major, dominating, politically powerful group undermines the tribes, their culture and languages at every stage (see Nayyar, 1995).

Though Sanskrit has neither regional base nor numerical strength, it is recognized in the schedule. English, though a foreign language is given the status of Associate Official Language, along with Hindi as official language of Central Government. Tribal languages such as Gondi, Bhili, Kudux, Mundari, etc. though numerically large, are not taken into consideration for official recognition. With this sort of attitude at the national level and with the ever-increasing craze for English, the following order of linguistic hierarchy obtains for Indian languages (Gupta et al. 1995: 1-7).

(i) English	1
(ii) Hindi	1
(iii) Other Scheduled languages	21
(iv) Languages recognized by the Sahitya Akademi	25
(v) Tribal and minor languages	180

Notice that nearly 90% of the languages of this country are at the lowest rung of the hierarchy, while 10% of the languages grab and enjoy all the facilities and opportunities for their development.

The Census of India has struck another blow on tribal languages by adopting a policy of not even listing the name (and the number of speakers) of any language that is spoken by less than 10,000 people (Bhattacharya, 2002). This policy eliminates, excludes and deprives even the status of language to nearly 50% to 60% of the languages of India. The postulated 'viability criterion' undermines the linguistic rights of most of the Indian languages especially that of tribal communities. The three-language formula erects another barrier in the educational development of the tribal children. The tribal child, in a province like Andhra Pradesh which is true of many other states, never gets the opportunity of learning through his native tongue. He has to receive his education through others languages - Telugu, English and Hindi in that order.

V

Some of the tribal languages are endangered under the pressure of modern media of the major languages i.e. the broadcast and telecast, cinemas and other programmes in languages like Telugu, Tamil, Malayalam and Kannada lure them. As there are no opportunities for the use of tribal languages in mass media, the native speakers have no opportunity to listen

or watch programmes in their own languages. The *Akashvani* broadcasts in nearly 60 to 70 tribal languages but these programmes last only for 30 to 60 minutes in a day or a week and their content is mainly songs and other entertainment programmes. Programmes covering education, information, science, technology and other knowledge-oriented opportunities are not provided in their home languages.

Tribal languages are not used in the administrative sphere meant for their own development, not even in the welfare programmes of the Governments. So is the case with judiciary, legislature, etc., even if a tribal is involved in the dispute. The restricted use hampers their development. In spite of socio-economic and cultural pressure from the major languages, the tribes retain their languages not only as a marker of identity but also as a treasure of their linguistic and cultural heritage. In certain places in South India, the tribes live similar life to that of the non-tribes. In such a situation, other things being common, language becomes a very important marker of identity. The Indian situation, by and large, has been maintenance of even the minor languages with borrowings (both lexical as well as structural) from contact languages and survival with a common grammar with that of neighbouring languages (Ramakrishna Reddy, 1992 & 2000; Khubchandani, 1992).

VI

The following steps are essential for retention and development of tribal linguistic heredity (cf. Biligiri, 1960; Pattanayak, 1990; Ramakrishna Reddy, 2000 and Khubchandani, 1992):

- i) Documentation: Basic and original research on the tribal languages including transcription (recording) of the language materials from words to paragraphs to texts.
- ii) Descriptive grammars of the languages with phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics and pragmatics, including unique traits of the structure of each language.
- iii) Preparation of bilingual/trilingual dictionaries from tribal language to major language(s) and vice versa. There is an urgent need for pedagogical/ comprehensive dictionaries.
- iv) Tribal lore consisting of folk tales, folk songs, narrations, idioms, proverbs, riddles, apologues and special expressions of discourse should be recorded, preserved and stored as linguistic corpus.

- v) Translation of tribal (oral) literature to other major Indian languages and English, and translation of important works of major languages into tribal languages should be taken up on priority basis.
- vi) Material production - linguists in collaboration with educationists and psychologists can prepare primers and other textbooks in the tribal languages, which should be utilized in school and adult education programmes.
- vii) Literacy development through production of materials in tribal languages with familiar content(s) as lessons, e.g. oral knowledge and tribal lore.
- viii) Native speakers of the tribal languages (especially the literate ones) should be involved in the production of books through production-oriented workshops. These workshops are to be held in different parts of the country to cover each and every language group.
- ix) Training in linguistic analysis and material production is to be imparted to the literate native speakers of tribal languages. The methodology of documentation has to be taught so that all the languages can be recorded and preserved for posterity.
- x) The grammar-writing, translation and book production programmes for the tribal languages should be goal-oriented and time-bound.
- xi) In selecting the languages for investigation and description, priority should be given to the languages spoken by a relatively small number of native speakers. This is essential as they are 'endangered' and might disappear in near future.
- xii) Governmental financial and academic support is essential for workshops to be held in different parts of the country - to train field linguists as well as native speakers of tribal languages.
- xiii) Liberal financial support should be granted to individual scholars, University departments, NGOs and other organizations interested in and capable of conducting research work and production of books on tribal languages.
- xiv) Support be extended to literary societies of the tribal people in the form of funds, books etc. and also to organize festivals in tribal oral literature.

- xv) Involving organizations like Panchayat Raj and other rural institutions in the preservation of culture and in the promotion of tribal literacy development.

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A DESCRIPTIVE ANALYSIS OF A DIALECT OF TAMIL

V.I. Subramoniam, 2003, HB, Demy 1/8, pp. xiv+85, Rs. 170/- (US\$ 17/-)

The thesis used only by researchers in the Kerala University and later in the International School of Dravidian Linguistics, has come out now in attractive format. When voicing of the written script is now attempted in several centres, its acoustic study helps to voice the Tamil sounds. A pathfinding thesis completed in 1957.

A HANDBOOK OF TAMIL NADU

K.M. Venkataramaiah (Ed.), 1996, HB, Demy 1/4, pp. vi+556+xiv, Rs. 1,000/- (US\$ 125/-)

Arranged alphabetically, this book covers most of the details on history, culture, language and literature, Saivism, Vaishnavism, Buddhism, Jainism, Christianity and Islam, and has pen-pictures of important personalities. Running to over 576 pages, with an appendix and index, it is intended not only for researchers as a ready reference but also as one catering to the needs of the common readers to know the land, people, history, culture, language and literature, and religion of Tamil Nadu through the ages.

A LINGUIST VISITS BANGLADESH

Sanghamitra Saha, 2001, PB, Demy 1/8, pp. iv+96, Rs. 75/- (US\$ 5/-)

A most interesting travelogue of a linguist whose parents came from Bangladesh and several relatives still live there. It reads like a detective novel.

BA:LAVYA:KARANAMU OF PARAVASTU CINNAYA SU:RI

P.S. Subrahmanyam (Tr.), 2002, HB, pp. iv+xliv+382, Rs. 1,200/- (US\$ 120/-)

This magnificently-produced volume in 10 chapters with 3 appendices opens our eyes to Telugu grammatical tradition. Though Panini is mentioned, the Katantra pattern which is also the pattern of Tolkappiyam, is followed. For describing the grammatical tradition of Telugu, this work is indispensable. The English translation is pleasing and precise.

Notes & Discussions

MORPHEME AND PHRASE BOUNDARIES IN TAMIL^{*}

V.I. SUBRAMONIAM

Hockett, in his review of Shannon and Weavers *Mathematical Theory of Communication* (Lang. VI. 29) discusses the linguistic application of communication theory in six ways. He suggests there that the degree of indeterminacy might be useful, in phonology and tactics and for determining immediate constituents. A practical demonstration and perfection of this method has been attempted by Harris in his article *Phoneme to Morpheme* (Lang. 31), and by Seymour Chatman in his article *Immediate Constituents and Expansion Analysis* (Word. VI. 11). Mine is simply an attempt to apply their method to Tamil and extend it also to fix word boundaries which have been indicated by Harris, but attempted here for the first time.

The Tamil speakers number about 35 million. They are spread over South India, Ceylon, Malaya and few thousands in South Africa.

The favour of accepting my phonemic, morphemic and syntactic analysis, two articles, one by Murray Fowler, *The Segmental Phonemes of Sanskritised Tamil* (Lang. VI. 30) and another by Leigh Lisker, *Tamil Verb Classification* (J.A.O.S. VI. 71) have served as corroborative evidences for my analysis.

I am quite certain that you are all familiar with Harris's basic procedure to determine the morpheme boundaries. It is by counting the number of different phonemes that occur after the first 'n' phonemes of the test utterance. It will be found that the number of those possible successors to the first n phonemes varies with n. Where the number of these possible successors reaches a peak, the utterance is segmented. Limited time and limited

^{*} This paper presented in 1956 in Michigan has been misplaced and recently when old bundles are examined, it is found and hence the delay of five decades.

space in the blackboard have compelled me to select the smallest of the group of four words.

/periyapacuyinkeemeykiratu/ (The) big cow here grazes.

After /p/ the following phonemes occur:

/a/ pantu	ball
/ū/ puu	flower
/i/ pittan	madman
/e/ periya	big
/ō/ poo	go

5

After /pe/ the following phonemes occur:

/ednmnyrlrt/ 10

In this manner when the succeeding phonemes are counted the utterances will have:

5 10 2 3 13 5 16 3 13 3 14 4 5 2 12 5 3 2 4 2 2 1 1 5

/p e /r i/ y a p a /c u/ y i /n k/ e e /m e e y/ k i r a t u/

Let us now cut at the peak:

The usual morphological analysis would end up with the following morphs:

/peri/ya/pacu/yi/nk/ee/meey/kiratu/

By the above count we have two over-cuts which I shall call fakes: one after /pe/ and another after /pa/.

There are two under-cuts which I shall call lacks; one after /peri/ and another after /kir/.

Though it is an ideal procedure to take into consideration, the suprasegmental phonemes like juncture and intonation; it is fraught with many difficulties. To mention two, junctural and contour allophones cannot be consistently maintained: not all suprasegmental phonemes are equally audible. To quote Harris, "It is permissible and preferable to use just the segmental phonemes for most test utterances in making successor counts. Further, segmentation is decided not on the basis of the actual successor count but on how the count rises and falls." So, suprasegmental phonemes are disregarded in this operation.

Let us try whether the reverse counting is more productive; that is counting from the last 'n' phonemes to the preceding ones.

Before /u/ the following phonemes can precede:

/t/ meeykiratu	grazes
/k/ vaanku	buy
/r/ vaaru	fill up
/d/ vaadu	fade
/c/ pacu	cow
/p/ paruppu	dhal
/l/ vaalu	live
/ʌ/ vaalu	man
/n/ aanu	male
/l/ vaalu	tail

The second phonemes /tu/ can be preceded by /u a i e o n t/ 7.

In this manner when the predecessor varieties are counted the utterances will have:

p	e	r	i	y	a	p	a	c	u	y	i	n	k	e	e	m	e	e	y	k	i	r	a	t	u
7	2	1	1	4	8	1	1	7	8	1	3	2	6	1	8	4	4	3	6	1	2	10	7	10	

There are no fakes but one lack after /peri/.

To rectify this, Harris recommends in the top note of Table 7, where Telugu is analysed, operation 5. Under operation 5 he proceeds to take the ratio of restriction for each occurrence. This ratio is arrived at by taking the possible number of occurrences in the language, after the nth phoneme to the actual number of occurrences in the test utterance. After /p/, six phonemes can succeed in this language at all positions. But only five occur in this utterance. So the freedom of occurrence is 83%. The restriction is 17%. Since our problem of segmentation is restricted to the first part of the utterance, let us take the ratio of restriction for that part.

%	17	33	75	73	89	13
Act.	5	10	2	3	3	13
	/P	e	r	i	y	a
Poss.	6	15	8	11	27	15

Harris does not mention where to cut or how to make use of the ratio of restriction. If a segmentation is to be made on the peak of the ratio, as we did before, it not only cuts through a morph but also it is against the basic principle on which the whole operation is carried out: that is, we are segmenting at a place where there is the highest restriction or in other words where there is the highest determinacy. Naturally, Harris would not have meant this. So, we will reduce the varying percentage of restriction to a common value, say 1% and then calculate the number of occurrences by simple proportion. It will be:

/p	e	r	i	y	a
.34	.10	.03	.04	.02	1

Now when segmented at the peak, the resulting morpheme boundary concurs exactly with those we have arrived at by the usual morphological analysis. It is said by social scientists that success in administering the

Rorshock Test depends on the luck of the investigator. I do not know whether I am one of those lucky few to get these exact results.

Appendix

A. Morpheme Boundaries

Unit of operation is phonemes.

————→ 5 10 2 3 3 13 5 16 3 15 3 14 4 5 2 12 5 3 2 4 2 2 1 1 5

1. /p e r i y a p a č u y i n k e e m e e y k i r a t u/

2. /p e r i y a p a č u y i n k e e m e e y k i r a t u/ ←————

7 2 1 1 48 1 1 7 8 1 3 2 6 18 443 6 12 10 7 10

3. /p e r i y a

% 17 33 75 75 89 13
.34 .30 .03 .04 .02 .00

Morphs: √peri √ya √paču √yi √nk √ee √meey √kir_u √atu

B. Word Boundaries

Unit of operation is morpheme sets.

7 21 31 1 11 25 10 5

√peri ya paču yi nk ee meey kir_u atu

Words: √periya √paču √yinkee √meeykir_uatu

C. Phrase Boundaries

Unit of operation is word classes.

7 16 12

√periya paču yinkee meeykir_uatu

Phrases

√periyapaču

√yinkeemeekiratu

√yinkee

√meeykiratu

√periya

√paču

CALDWELL AND A.R. RAJA RAJA VARMA ON MALAYALAM GRAMMAR

K. Raghavan Pillai, 1996, Demy 1/8, pp. 168, Rs. 250/- (US\$ 25/-)

A comparative study of the views of two prominent grammarians, this work attempts to compare the views of Caldwell and Rajaraja Varma (A.R.) on Malayalam, its relation with Dravidian in general and Tamil in particular. The work aims to analyze critically the introduction (*Pīṭika*) by A.R. to *Kēraḷapāṇinīyam*, vis-a-vis an evaluation of Caldwell's views on Malayalam grammar and its development. The discerning critic will find this work informative and stimulating.

EARLY INSCRIPTIONAL MALAYALAM

K. Retnamma, 1994, Demy 1/8, pp. 326, Rs. 350/- (US\$ 35/-)

A data-oriented report, this book containing 45 inscriptions belonging to I-IV-century Kollam era, focusses on the origin and gradual development of Malayalam language during subsequent centuries. Historians and linguists will find this analysis helpful in outlining the early period of Malayalam language.

GUNDERT: KERALA PALAMA

T. Madhava Menon (Tr.), 2003, PB, Demy 1/4, pp. x+88, Rs. 150/- (US\$ 30/-)

The Dutch and Portuguese conflicts, the war between the kings of Calicut and Cochi, and several other informations are brought out in a clear and simple style.

Notes & Discussions

SANSKRIT AND DRAVIDIAN - A CASE OF PROSODICAL CONVERGENCE

H.S. ANANTHANARAYANA

Mysore

The intimate contact between the speakers of Indo-Aryan (= Sanskrit) and Dravidian languages for a period of almost 3000 years has resulted in linguistic convergence at all levels of their respective languages. Since the features of this convergence are too well known to linguists, we do not wish to discuss them. We would be interested however in this short paper to bring to the attention of scholars that a case of convergence may also be noted in the area of prosody. We would like to point here that certain features of versification which are peculiarly Dravidian may be found utilized in Sanskrit poetry; and for this purpose, references will be drawn from Śrī: Krishṇakārṇa:mr̥ta of the poet Līla:śuka of uncertain date.¹

Two types of verse patterns may be attributed to Vedic Sanskrit, one a short line of eight Syllables, i.e. Vedic Ga:yatri:-Anuṣṭubh, another a longer line of eleven and twelve syllables, the Vedic Triṣṭubh-Jagati:. There are also patterns with alternating short and long lines. W.P. Lehmann has suggested² that in the Triṣṭubh-Jagati: type the longer lines have been expanded over the shorter line through inclusion of the absolute constructions, appositives and complements that developed when Greek, Sanskrit, etc. were modified from a basically Object-Verb sentence type to a Verb-Object type. The present author examined Rig Vedic material and posited the Gayatri:-Anuṣṭubh type as the basic verse line in Indic and the

1. Śrī Krishṇakārṇa:mr̥ta of Līla:śuka. M.K. Acharya (Ed.). Published by V. Ramaswamy Sastrulu & Sons. Madras. 1924.

2. W.P. Lehmann. "Contemporary linguistics and Indo-European studies". P. 991. PMLA 87, No. 5 (1972).

Triṣṭubh-Jagati: was an extended pattern³. The derivation of the longer line is mostly achieved by the addition of an extra word either after the last word of an octosyllabic line [e.g. indur hinva:no aiyate (mani:ṣibhiḥ) "The soma juice, pushed forward (by the wise men), gets mixed up [with the milk]". 9.105.2(9.76.2)], or before the last word, if a correct pattern would not result by addition at the end [e.g. tuam i:ṣiṣe (vasupate) vasu:na:m "you, (Vasupati), are the master of wealth" - 8.71.8(1.170.5)].

Occasionally, there was a slight reordering of the words in the longer pattern, again, to ensure the correct metrical pattern [e.g. tena: no adhi vocata/tena:ditya:adhi vocata: naḥ "Therefore, (Adityas), speak to us (favourably)" - 8.20.26/2.27.6]. It may be noted that the choice of one or the other, of the longer patterns, was dependent on the appropriate selection of the last word [e.g. agnir deva:na:m abhavatpuroga:h/purohitah "Agni was placed at the head of all gods" - 10.110.11/3.2.8]. In almost all the instances of the eleven-syllable lines the extra word added to the short line has the pattern ; similarly, in the twelve-syllable line, the extra word has the pattern .

The twelve-syllable line thus appears to be a further extension of the eleven-syllable line. Our knowledge of sentence structure in Vedic from earlier syntactic analysis, viz. that final position of the verb in the clause is normal for Vedic, supports the assumption made here which is based primarily on lexical evidence.

Thus the metrical unit in the Vedic poems is made of a specific number of syllables. It may consist of eight, eleven or twelve syllables. Seven metres have been recognized as standard or model metres. They are Ga:yatri:, Uṣṇik, Anuṣṭubh, Br̥hati:, Pañkti, Triṣṭubh and Jagati:. They consist of syllables in an ascending order by four (Chandobhiḥ caturuttaraiḥ). All the lines in a metre may be of the same type (i.e. eight or eleven/twelve syllables) or there may be combinations of these. The latter are termed lyric metres and they are practically unknown in later literature.

Students of Indic metrics assume that a short line is analysable into two parts, each consisting of four syllables and a longer line of eleven syllables, into three parts, consisting accordingly of four, three and four syllables.

3. H.S. Ananthanarayana, "Basic metrical pattern in the poems of the Rigveda". Copenhagen: Acta Linguistica Hafniensia. Vol. No. 2, 1973. Pp. 155-170.

Classical Sanskrit stanza which consists of four lines is governed either by the number of syllables (akṣara) or by the number of syllabic instants. The stanza of the first kind is called a *ṛtta* and of the second, a *ja:ti*. *Ṛttas* are further classified into *sama* in which all the lines are similar, *ardhasama* in which alternate lines are alike, and *viṣma* in which the lines are all dissimilar. The number of syllables in a *ṛtta* may vary from one to twenty-six in each line. In metres regulated by the number of syllabic instants, one instant (ma:tra:) is allotted to a short syllable and two to a long one.

The eight-syllable *Anuṣṭubh* also called *śloka* here is termed the bread-and-butter metre. It is a simple, easily handled metre, since the pattern of light and heavy syllables is not fixed throughout the line. The fifth syllable of each line short; the sixth, long; and the seventh is alternately long and short. An example of *śloka* is:

Ku:jaṇtam ra:ma ra:meti, madhuraṁ madhura:kṣaram/
a:ruhya kavita:śa:kha:m, vande va:lmi:kikokilam#

Of the *Ja:ti* stanzas, *A:rya:* is a popular metre in which the first and the third line must contain twelve syllabic instants; the second eighteen and the fourth fifteen.

The Vedic metres are syllable governed consist of three, four or five lines in a verse. The metres of Classical Sanskrit are either syllable governed or *ma:tra:* governed, each line being further divisible into various *gaṇas* 'groups of ma:tra:s' or consisting of different combinations of *gaṇas* (which are: ya, ma, ta, ra, ja, bha, na, sa). The *gaṇas* themselves comprise various combinations of *laghu* 'short' and *guru* 'long' (=light and heavy syllables). The *Ṛtta* type of Classical Sanskrit seems to be continuing the Vedic metres with the superimposition of *ma:tra:s*, while the *Ja:ti* type being taken from the Dravidian prosodical system which is only *ma:tra:-* governed. The number of syllables in a Vedic line being maximally twelve, the number in a line of Classical Sanskrit poem may include up to a maximum of twenty-six syllables, three each of such syllables making up a *gaṇa*.

The tendency to introduce rhyme in Sanskrit poems is believed to be of popular origin. In Sanskrit poetry we have the use of *yamakas*, i.e. groups of identical syllables recurring in the stanza, especially at the end of the lines. The normal end rhyme is first defined in the *Sa:hityadarpaṇa*, although it was known to Hemachandra (vide *Chandonuśa:sana*). In the former, it is styled end alliteration (*antya:nupra:sa*) and Hemachandra

applies to it the term alliteration in opposition to yamaka. Deliberate rhyming is late in Sanskrit poetry and even in Prakrit it cannot be said to be regular. This might suggest the influence of native (= Dravidian) languages on Sanskrit which did not employ this feature in early stages. Alliteration is characteristic of Gauda style (as opposed to Vaidarbha) popularised by Dandin, supposedly, a southerner. It is the Gauda style which prevails in later Sanskrit epics.

In addition to antya:nupra:sa, four other kinds of anupra:sa 'alliteration' are also found employed in Sanskrit poetry. They are: Cheka:nupra:sa (when a number of consonants are repeated again in the same order - e.g. ka:veri:va:ripa:vanah pavanah), Ļa:tanupra:sa (when the same words are repeated in the same sense but with a different construction - e.g. dinakarakulacandra candraketo), Vṛttanupra:sa (when a single consonant is repeated once or many times, or when many consonants occur more than once and in the same order) and Śrutyanupra:sa (when consonants belonging to the same organs of articulation come in several times in the same or different order).

Kaṛṇa:mṛta as a lyrical masterpiece is unsurpassed by any work in Sanskrit. It is said that even Jayadeva's Gi:tagovinda can be assigned a place far below that of the Kaṛṇa:mṛta, in simplicity and melody of diction or in loftiness of thought. There is hardly a musical recital at which a recitation from the Kaṛṇa:mṛta is not given before the gathering disperses. Since the poem is not current in Northern India, it is inferred that the poet belonged to the south and in all probability to Andhradesa. In several stanzas, the poet has strikingly indulged both in initial rhymes and in mid-alliterations - characteristics very optional in Sanskrit but essential in Tamil or Telugu prosody. There is a fairly good rendering of the poem into Telugu verse by a certain Venga:grāṇi. Further, there is a popular tradition ascribing great intimacy between the poet and a courtesan named Chinta:maṇi, and Chinta:maṇi is a very common name among Andhra "deva-da:sis".

The poem is distributed into three cantos (a:śva:sa) consisting of 112, 110 and 108 stanzas, accordingly. The cantos are not mutually marked off by any clear division of subject matter, nor are the individual stanzas in each canto arranged in any definite sequence of thought or structure. The whole poem is simply one wild passionate outpouring of the heart; each stanza is a whole, an exquisite whole by itself. The poet has employed many a well-known metre (e.g. anuṣṭubh, paṅkti, triṣṭubh, jagati:, śakvari:, sragdhara:) and several types of rhyming (initial, second syllable, final). Either all the

four lines have similar rhyming or first two lines and last two lines rhyming similarly. Single consonants (e.g. da:, la, ru, na), geminates (e.g. lla) and conjuncts (e.g. nda, vya) and even simple vowels (e.g. a:) are employed in rhyming positions. Words differing only by the initial consonant are also employed in rhyming position (e.g. aranya:, saranya, dharanya:, saranya: - verse II.49). The first two lines showing one kind of syllable/word and the last two lines a different kind of syllable/word are used for rhyming (e.g. dhalla III.2; ra/ma III.3; ta:/da: III.29; prakṛti/sukṛti III.43; skandha/śṛṅga III.61). The poet has also used metres in which lines one and three are alike and two and four are alike with regard to the number of ma:tra:s (e.g. 8, 12, 8, 12; 10, 11, 10, 11).

Yati 'caesura' and pra:sa 'rhyme' are specific features of Telugu prosody. Yati in Telugu prosody means the 'rhyme' of the initial sound at specific places in the course of the line. This is absolute identity of the initial consonant or agreement in the respect of certain characteristics of the same consonant. Etukai or the rhyme of the second syllable is called pra:sa in Telugu prosody. Pra:sa is considered absolutely essential in all metres adopted from Sanskrit and Prakrit into Telugu. As in the case of yati, the repetition or agreement of the vowel in the syllable being repeated is not insisted upon in pra:sa. Even in the matter of repetition of the consonant of the second syllable absolute identity is not insisted upon, the desired being similarity of sound only.

In Sa:taluru inscription of 9th century A.D., there is a Sanskrit verse in Campakama:la: metre with rhyme of the second syllable in each line which perhaps betrays the influence of Telugu prosody and leads to the inference that this metre was in vogue in Telugu.

Pra:sa is obligatory in Kannada poetry. It is differentiated into simha pra:sa (when a single consonant after a short vowel is repeated in the four lines), gaja pra:sa (when the vowel is a long vowel), vṛṣabha pra:sa, aja pra:sa, śarabha pra:sa and haya pra:sa. When the preceding vowel has an anusva:ra or a visarga attached to it and what is repeated is a conjunct consonant, then the pra:sa is called śarabha. Repetition of geminated consonants in identical situation is called haya pra:sa. Rhyme in the second syllable is quite common in Kannada too.⁴

The fact that Karna:mrta displays initial rhyming and rhyming of the second syllable suggest the influence of Telugu prosody over Sanskrit. As

4. Dravidian Encyclopaedia Vol. III. Trivandrum: I.S.D.L. 1997.

indicated earlier, the poet being a native of Andhra may have brought his native language prosody into his Sanskrit composition. The other evidence, viz. a translation of the work into Telugu, allusion to a courtesan in his benedictory verse indicating the poet's attachment to her - all suggest to the prosodical features of Telugu rather than Kannada being the source for those features in the *Kaṇa:mṛta*. As it happened in the life of Tulsidas, Lilasuka's heart was suddenly transferred by the exhortation of *Chinta:maṇi*, his lady-love, and he was overpowered with God-love. The tradition adds that the whole of the poem was on the spot given out in the course of the *a:veśa* or divine inspiration that came upon the poet. Whatever it may be, here is an instance of prosodical convergence in which Telugu (or Dravidian) influencing Sanskrit (or Indo-Aryan).

Illustrative examples

Anuṣṭup

I.105 *ma:dhuryeṇa vijṛmbhanta:m, va:co nastava vaibhave/
ca:palyena vivardhanta:m, cinta: nastava śaiśave#*

II.83 *namastasmai yaśoda:ya: da:ya:da:ya:stu tejase/
yaddhi ra:dha:mukha:mbhojam bhojam bhojam vyavardhata#*

Paṇkti

I.104 *premadam ca me ka:madam ca me
vedanam ca me vaibhavam ca me/
ji:vanam ca me ji:vitam ca me
daivatam ca me deva na:parm#*

Triṣṭup

I.88 *citram tad etaccaraṇa:ravindam
citram tad etannayana:ravindam/
citram tad etadvadana: ravindam
citram tad etat punar amba!citram#*

II.57 *kara:ravindena pada:ravindam
mukha:ravinde viniveśayantam/
vaṭasyapatrasya puṭe śaya:nam
ba:lam mukundam manasa: smara:mi#*

Jagati:

- I.91 madhuraṁ madhuraṁ vapurasya vibho
 madhuraṁ madhuraṁ vadanam madhuraṁ/
 madhugandhi mṛdusmitadetadaho
 madhuraṁ madhuraṁ madhuraṁ madhuraṁ#
- II.35 anganaḥ anganaḥ antare maḥdhavo
 maḥdhavam maḥdhavam caḥntareṇaḥnganaḥ/
 ittham aḥkalpīte maṇḍale madhyagaḥ
 sanjagau veṇunaḥ davekiḥnandanah#

Śakvari:

- I.40 he deva he dayita he jagadekabandho
 he kṛṣṇa he capala he karuṇaikasindho/
 he naḥtha he ramaṇa he nayanaḥbhiraḥma
 haḥ haḥ kadaḥnu bhavitaḥsi padam dṛṣor me#

Sragdhara:

- III.99 saḥyaṅkaḥle vanaḥnte kusumitasamaye saikate candrikaḥyam
 trailokyaḥkarṣaṇaḥngam suranaragaṇikaḥmohanaḥpaṅgamuḥrtim/
 sevyam śṛṅgaḥrabhaḥvair navarasabharitair gopakanyaḥsahasrair-
 vande'ham raḥsakelīḥratam atisubhagam vaśyagopaḥlakṛṣṇam#

Meghavisphuḥrjita:

- II.108 kastuḥriḥtilakam lalaḥṭaphalake vakṣasthale kaustubham
 naḥsaḥgre navamauktikam karatale veṇum kare kaṅkaṇam/
 sarvaḥnge haricandanam ca kalayan kaṇṭhe ca muktaḥvaḥlim
 gopastriḥpariveṣṭito vijayate gopalacuḥdaḥmaṇiḥ#

Initial rhyming

- III.6 aḥmuktamaḥnuṣam amuktanijaḥnubhaḥvam
 aḥruḥḍhayauvanam aguḥḍhavidagdhaliḥlam/
 aḥmṛṣṭayauvanam anaṣṭakiṣorabhaḥvam
 aḥdyam mahah kimapi maḥdyati maḥnase me#

Second syllable rhyming

- III.3 karīṇa:mlaṅghyagativaibhavambhaja
 karuṇa:valambitakiśoravigraham/
 yamina:mana:rataviha:ri ma:nase
 yamuna:vana:ntarasikam param mahah#
- III.11 uda:ramṛdulasmitavyatikara:bhira:ma:nanam
 muda: muhurudi:rṇaya:munimanombuja:mreditam/
 mada:lasavilocanavrajavadhu:mukha:sva:ditam
 kada:nu kamalekṣaṇam kamapi ba:lam a:lokaye#

End rhyming

- I.12 nikhilabhuvanalakṣmi: nityali:la:spada:bhya:m
 kamalavipinavi:thi:garvasarvaṅkaśa:bhya:m
 praṇamadabhyada:napraudhiga:dhoddhata:bhya:m
 kimapi vahatu cetaḥ kṛṣṇapa:da:mbuja:bhya:m#

Alliteration of a conjunct consonant

- III.1 asti svastyayanam samastajagata:m abhyastalakṣmi:stanam
 vastu dhvastarajastamobhiraniṣam nyastam purasta:diva/
 hastodastagiri:ndramastakataruprasta:ravista:rita-
 srastasvastarusu:nasamstaralasatprasta:vi ra:dha:stutam#

GUNDERT: KERALOLPATTI

T. Madhava Menon (Tr.), 2003, HB, Demy 1/8, pp. vi+132, Rs. 150/- (US\$ 30/-)

T. Madhava Menon, a well-known administrator, has translated the German philologist Gundert's Keralolpatti ('Origin of Kerala') in easy readable English. The translation has several footnotes for clarification. A work of love by T.M. Menon, which will be useful to non-Malayali scholars all over the world.

Notes & Discussions

LEXICAL MOTIVATION FOR
PERIPHRASTIC CAUSATION IN BANGLA

JAYATI CHATTERJEE

Delhi

There are three kinds of causatives available in a language: lexical, morphological and periphrastic. Lexical causatives are those causative verbs which are distinct lexical elements and have a direct semantic relation with a transitive verb. For example, *see* is a transitive verb with two arguments, agent and theme, while *show* is its semantically related causative counterpart with three arguments: agent₁, goal (agent₂) and theme where agent₁ causes agent₂ to do something.¹ The transitive has the structure such as 'x sees z' and the causative 'x shows z to y'. The words *see* and *show* do not share the same verbal root, but they share the same semantic relation which a morphologically derived causative shares with the verb from which it is derived. In English only a limited number of lexical causatives are available. Lexical causatives are few in Bangla also, e.g., *pɔR* 'fall' - *phæɭ* 'cause to fall/drop', *oTh* 'get up' - *tol* 'to cause to get up / pull up'. We may look at (1, 2) for the illustration of Bangla lexical causatives.

- 1a. biota tak theke poRlo.
Book spec. shelf from fall past
'The book fell from the shelf'.

1. Here agent₁ is the agent of the abstract semantic element CAUSE which has an embedded clause with a transitive verb as its complement whereas agent₂ is the agent of the predicate of the embedded clause. Without proposing the formalism of pre-lexical syntax, we want to capture the semantic generalization involving this relationship. For a similar attempt for French, see Zubizarreta (1982: 197-244). On surface, **show** has three arguments: agent, goal and theme. For convenience, we may describe **agent**₁ as a "primary agent" and **agent**₂ as a "secondary agent". In some cases, **agent**₁ may better be called **cause** rather than agent. For instance:

tar dirgho asusthota tar mrittu ghɔTalo.
His prolonged sickness his death cause past
'His prolonged sickness caused his death'.

1b. ami biota tak theke phellam.
 I book spec. shelf from cause to fall/drop past
 'I dropped the book from the shelf'.

2a. ami chear theke uThlam.
 I chair from get up past
 'I got up from the chair.'

2b. mou amake chear theke tullo.
 Mou me chair from cause to get up /pull up past
 'Mou pulled me up from the chair'.

In (1a), *pɔR* 'fall' is an intransitive verb and in (1b) it has its lexical causative counterpart *phæɭ* 'drop'. In (2a) we have *oTh* 'get up' which is also an intransitive verb from which its lexical causative counterpart *tol* 'pull up' is derived.

Bangla has a very productive process of morphological causatives. With the change in the suffix of an existing verb, a morphological causative can be readily derived, e.g., *dækh* 'see' - *dækha* 'show', *kha* 'eat' - *khawa* 'feed', etc.²

3a. abonti mikuke bagane dekhlo.
 Abonti Miku acc. in garden see past
 'Abonti saw Miku in the garden'.

3b. tini abontike bagane mikuke dækhlo.
 Tini Abonti dat. in garden Miku acc. show past
 'Tini showed Abonti Miku in the garden'.

4a. jiru biriani khelo.
 Jiru biriani eat past
 'Jiru ate biriani'.

4b. jiruke tulu biriani khawalo.
 Jiru acc. Tulu biriani feed past
 'Tulu fed Jiru with biriani'.

In (3a), *dækh* is a transitive verb in Bangla and in (3b) *dækha* 'show' is the causative counterpart of *dækh* 'see'. It is clear that the causative

2. For a detailed description of morphological causatives, see Chatterji (1993).

dækha 'show' is formed by adding the suffix *a* to the transitive verb *dækh* 'see'. Similarly, in (4a), *kha* 'eat' is a transitive verb in Bangla. In (4b), *khawa* 'feed' is the causative form of *kha* 'eat' and is derived with the addition of the ending *wa* with *kha*. Thus, in Bangla, by changing the suffix of an existing verb, a morphological causative is readily derived. Broadly speaking, if a transitive verb ends in a consonant, the suffix *a* is added to derive its causative (e.g. *dækh* 'see', *dækha* 'show'), if it ends in a vowel, *wa* is suffixed to the word to have its causative.

Where a lexical or morphological causative is not available, a periphrastic causative may be used. In English, such a causative is derived syntactically with the help of verbs like *make*, *force*, *have*, *compel*, *let*, etc. Though they are full lexical items, in the causative sense they function as syntactic affixes.³ For the elucidation of the point, we may look at (5a, b):

5a. I did it.

5b. She made me do it.

6a. His wife died.

6b. He killed his wife.

6c. He caused his wife to die.

In (5a), *did* is a transitive verb. Since this verb does not have either a lexical or a morphological causative counterpart in English, a periphrastic causative (as in 5b) is formed with the help of the verb *make*, and we have the periphrastic expression '*make* (someone) *do* (something)', etc.⁴

Bangla also has such periphrastic causatives. For illustration, we may look at (7):

7a. *bhokti buluke bie korlen.*

Bhokti Bulu acc. marry past

'*Bhokti married Bulu*'.

7b. *purutThakur bhoktir sathe bulur bie dilen.*

Priest honourable Bhokti of with Bulu of marry past

'*The honourable priest married Bhokti to Bulu*'.

3. For details, see Zubizarreta (1982: 189). She deals with the dual status of these verbs by means of simultaneous syntactic analyses.

4. For details in the periphrastic causatives in English, see Kac (1976: 233-239).

7c. ašubabu purut die bhoktir sathe bulur *bie dilen*.

Ashubabu priest by Bhokti of with Bulu of marry past
'Ashubabu got Bhokti married to Bulu by a priest'.

7d. ašubabu purutke bhoktir sathe bulur *bie dite baddho korlen*.

Ashubabu priest acc. Bhokti of with Bulu of marry to force past
'Ashubabu forced the priest to marry Bhokti to Bulu'.

It can be noted that in (7b) the conjunct verb *bie de* 'marry' is an example of lexical causative (which is the causative counterpart of another conjunct verb *bie kṛ* 'marry' used in 7a). In (7c) *purut* 'priest' is used as the instrument of ritual. But (7d) has a periphrastic causative, *bie dite baddho korlen* 'forced to marry'; *Ašubabu* caused *purut* 'priest' to do something, without the willingness of the doer. The reference to the forced causation has been brought out by the verb *baddho kṛ* 'force'. We may now look at some more examples of periphrastic causatives in Bangla in (8-10):

8a. rimi saens nilo.

Rimi science opt past
'Rimi opted for science'.

8b. rimir baba take saens *nite baddho korlen*.

Rimi's father her science to opt for compel past
'Rimi's father compelled her to opt for science'.

9a. tanu tar icchar biruddhe skul gælo.

Tanu his wish of against school go past
'Tanu went to school against his wish'.

9b. tanu jete caeni kintu or ma oke *jete baddho korlen*.

Tanu to go want did not but his mother him to go force past
'Tanu did not want to go but his mother forced him to go'.

10a. ami ækTa kek banalam.

I one spec. cake make past
'I made a cake'.

10b. jodio ami kek banate janina tuli amake die kek *banie nilo*.

though I cake to make do not know Tuli me by cake got made
'Though I do not know how to make a cake, Tuli got a cake made by me'.

It may be noted that in (8, 9) in Bangla the verb *baddho kôr* 'compel/force' is used to have a periphrastic causative, whereas in (10), though the English counterpart has the verb 'get' which triggers off a periphrastic causative, the Bangla sentence has a morphological causative *banie ne*. There is another equivalent of 'force/compel' in Bangla, i.e. *jor kôr* which does not indicate the completion of the action and is not an exact synonym of *baddho kôr*. For example, let us look at (11):

11a. nimu amTa khelo.

Nimu mango spec. eat past

'Nimu ate the mango'.

11b. ma nimuke amTa khete jor korechilo.

Mother Nimu acc. mango spec. to eat force past

'Mother forced Nimu to eat the mango'.

11c. ma nimuke amTa khete jor korechilo kintu se amTa

mother Nimu acc. mango spec. force past but he mango spec.
khelona.

eat past not

'Mother forced Nimu to eat the mango but he did not eat'.

Here, in the English sentence, the verb 'force' indicates that Nimu ate the mango but its Bangla counterpart *jor kôr* does not necessarily mean that Nimu actually ate the mango. That is why (11c) is not a contradictory statement. It seems that in Bangla we have only one verb that is used to have a periphrastic causative, i.e. *baddho kôr* 'compel'. As a matter of fact, it is not surprising because Bangla has a productive system of morphological causatives.

We may also note that several Bangla intransitive verbs cannot be causativized morphologically; they have periphrastic causatives as in (12b) and (13b):

12a. šati kašlo.

Šati cough past

'Šati coughed'.

12b. ma šatike kašte baddho korlen jate tar gōla theke.

mother Šati acc. to cough force past so that her throat from
pōṣaTa berie aṣe
coin spec. come out

'Mother forced Šati to cough so that the coin came out of her throat'.

13a. ami derite aślam.

I late in come past
'I came late'.

13b. ami derite ašte baddho holam.

I late in to come forced was
'I was forced to come late'.

Let us look at some more examples of causatives in Bangla in (14-15) in order to understand the motivation for their use.

14a. ami ঔηko bujhi.

I Mathematics understand pre.
'I understand Mathematics'.

14b. Khoka amak ঔηko bojhae.

Khoka me Mathematics make understand pre.
'Khoka makes me understand Mathematics'.

15a. gaRi cōle.

car move pre.
'The car moves'.

15b. Aparup gaRi calae.

Aparup car drive pre.
'Aparup drives the car'.

15c. Aparup Ramke diye gaRi calae.

Aparup Ram acc. by car drive pre.
'Aparup gets the car driven by Ram'.

As mentioned above, causation necessitates the use of one more argument in the sentence than it would normally have. The use of this additional argument changes the nature of the verb. For instance, if the non-causative verb is stative, as in (14a) its causative counterpart is non-stative; it may indicate an event as in (14b). If the non-causative is an event, (15a) its causative counterpart also indicates an action as in (15b) and if the non-causative indicates an action, its causative counterpart also indicates an action with the explicit mention of who/what caused that action, as in (15c).

To sum up, we have seen that a Bangla sentence which has a causative verb, lexical, morphological, has an agent₁ (primary agent), that causes

the action indicated by the embedded proposition, and another agent, agent₂, that performs the action triggered by agent₁. If a proposition has to express such a situation and there is no lexical or morphologically derived causative verb available, a periphrastic causative is used. As Bangla has a rich stock of morphologically derived causatives, periphrastic causatives are rarely used and the syntactic device to produce them is limited to the use of *baddho k r* 'compel'.

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IN QUEST OF DRAVIDIAN ROOTS IN SOUTH AFRICA
M.V. Krishnaswamy, 2002, PB, Demy 1/8, pp. 116, Rs. 100/- (US\$ 5/-)

M.V. Krishnaswamy during his long stay in South Africa with his son, has analyzed the migration of the Tamils and Andhras and their present economic status. A book for non-specialists, helps to open up several areas of research on migration.

JAINISM IN SOUTH INDIA

P.M. Joseph (Ed.), 1997, HB, Demy 1/4, pp. xiv + 436 + xxvi, Rs. 1,000/- (US\$ 125/-)

This book, in two parts, covers everything connected with Jainism - its origin, growth, decline and residual survival in South India. While the first part is the assessment of the contribution of South Indian Jainism, the second deals with its overview. Both are complementary, the second one enabling the understanding of the first. The work clearly illustrates how Jainism became dominant in the South.

KERALA PAANINIYAM OF A.R. RAJA RAJA VARMA

C.J. Roy (Tr.), 1999, HB, Demy 1/8, pp. xxviii + 332, Rs. 400/- (US\$ 40/-)

The original work is a classic in Malayalam grammatical literature. In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, there were no compeers to A.R. in any of the South Indian languages. A.R. had an analytical mind. Though well-versed in Paniniyam, he did not follow it blindly. Wherever Paniniyam was not found applicable, he took an independent course of analysis.

The English translation enhances the merit of the original, providing an unambiguous understanding of it with maximum accuracy. An excellent translation of a difficult but most valuable text.

LANGUAGE ACQUISITION: THEORY AND PRACTICE

V. Syamala, 1993, HB, Demy 1/8, pp. xi + 265 + x, Rs. 350/- (US\$ 60/-)

An excellent exposition of language acquisition relevant to teaching and learning of the English language, the study contributes to research in psycholinguistics, with the comparison of findings with first-language-acquisition studies as well as other second-language-acquisition studies of English, and identifying universals in the processes of L₁ and L₂ acquisition.

Notes & Discussions

THE SADHU (H) - CALIT (L) AND DIGLOSSIA IN BANGLA

SUMANA BANDYOPADHYAY
Indian Institute of Technology, Kanpur

Abstract

From specimens of old Bengali prose the presence of diglossia in Bangla from the early eighteenth century can be inferred. It is recognized that diglossia was present till the third quarter of the last century and its presence in some form or other can be well surmised in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. At present it is almost non-existent.

Introduction

Where do we find two markedly divergent varieties of the same language in regular use by some speakers in a community under different conditions we have a situation which has been called 'diglossia' (Ferguson). One of these varieties is used (in many localized variant forms) in ordinary conversation; the other variety is used for special purposes, primarily in formal speech and writing. It is conventional to refer to the former as 'low' (L) and the latter as high (H). High and low varieties can display differences in phonology, grammar and vocabulary. We know that diglossic situations become unstable in the face of large-scale movements for a single standard under various conditions. In such circumstances, there are arguments in favour of either the H or the L variety becoming the standard. Supporters of L stress the need to have a standard which is close to the everyday thoughts and feelings of the people and which is a more effective tool of communication at all levels. It has been expounded that diglossia typically persists at least several centuries, and evidence in some cases seem to show that it can last well over a thousand years.

The Sadhu Bhasa

In Bangla, we have two varieties of the written language known as the *sadhu bhasa* (H) and the *calit bhasa* (L). The *calit* is not an undistorted

spoken language - the spoken language changes when it is used in literature. Instead of enumerating the already documented (Bhattacharya 2000; Chaki 2001) differences in the density of *tatsama-tatbhava* words, morphology, grammar in the two varieties, I have tried to direct our attention to the rise and subsequent reign of the majestic *sadhu* variety, the emergence as a reaction to its increasing obscurity of the forceful, spoken *calit* which later went on to dominate the literary horizon. Specimens of old Bangla prose of the sixteenth-eighteenth centuries that have been compiled and published so far show the form of *sadhu bhasa*, though there are a few local words thrown in as well, verbs and pronouns have their full *sadhu* forms and the SOV word order is maintained in almost all the sentences. A critical analysis of these specimens leads us to the inevitable conclusion that the *sadhu* variety is the foundation of Bangla prose.

A.K. Bandyopadhyay (2003) maintains that the style and form of *sadhu* prose can be discerned in the language of the *punthi* (MS in palmyra leaf) *Jnanadi sadhana* compiled in 1750. This very *sadhu* variety developed in the writings of Mrityunjay Vidyalkar (1762-1819), Rammohun Roy (1772-1833) and Iswar Chandra Vidysagar (1820-91) as an appropriate vehicle for nineteenth century thoughts and wit and humour. He concludes the *sadhu* form of Bangla prose was in use in Bengal and its border regions before the arrival of the prose writers of the Fort William College. The *sadhu* Bangla prose was carefully reared and nurtured by the pundit-munshis and some European missionaries of the college. The need to reform the Bangla *sadhu bhasa* prose in the first half of the nineteenth century was enormous as a result of diverse social, political and religious compulsions.

With the spread of urban life in Kolkata, ever-new tricks and devices were being developed for entertainment during Christmas, Bengali year-ending functions, community worships, New Year celebrations etc. Rhymes, farces, ballads, novels based on the urban life of the babus of Kolkata, rich zemindars, their sycophants and hangers-on were being written, recited and performed in plenty. A special mention here is to be made of the immense popularity of the instant *kobi-gan* (songs composed and sung by poetasters) contests. The *sadhu bhasa* of invocation of the favourite god or goddess by the contestants always degenerated into refrains garbed in a coarse language to demean the opponent and entertain the audience. Writing on the origin of the *kobi-gan*, Tagore (1907) observes: "In the Capital newly created by the English there was no trace of the king's *darbar* of earlier days, no old ideals to follow. There the poet's protector king was 'an undeveloped corpulent body called the public' and the song for this king was the song of the poetaster's group. Only a few at that time had the leisure,

competence and the desire to deliberate upon literary tastes. Then the newly affluent, hard-working merchant class in their evening get-togethers craved for stimulating entertainment and not for literary flavour in the performances." The need for a new language was felt to depict in literature the unwanted variety of urban life. The polished, ornate, artificial *sadhu bhasa* was abandoned in favour of the spoken language of old Kolkata- the *calit bhasa* as a vehicle for plays, sketches, fiction.

The Calit Bhasa

The spoken or *calit* form of language was used by Peary Chand Mitra (1818-83) in his *Alaler Gharer Dulal* (1858) and by Kaliprosanna Singha (1840-70) in his *Hutom Penchar Naksa* (1864) to delineate the real and vulgar mode of urban life. Rajnarain Bosu (1878) in one of his lectures observed: "Early in his career Vidyasagar's *sadhu bhasa* was full of Sanskrit words. As a reaction to it Radhanath Sikdar (1813-70) and Peary Chand Mitra published a monthly magazine *Masik Patrika* in *apabhasa*. Tekchand Thakur's *Alaler Gharer Dulal* was first published in it. From that time on, two languages have been created: Vidyasagar's *bhasa* and Alal's *bhasa*." According to Das (1988: also substantiated by Singha 1997), the true beginning of Bangla *calit* form is in the *kathopakathan* (dialogues) intended to facilitate the acquiring of the Bengali language by William Carey (1801). Carey in the introduction says: "I have employed sum (*sic*) sensible natives to compose dialogues upon subjects of a domestic nature and to give them precisely in the natural style of the persons supposed to be speakers." After Carey's death, one of his friends wrote in a periodical about his dialogues: "These were composed in the original Bengali, probably by a clever native." In a footnote, Bandyopadhyay (2003) asks: "Is Mrityunjoy this clever native? Is the English portion Carey's translation?" (The original publication had the Bangla version at the beginning and its English translation at the end.)

The *calit* variety is a Kolkata innovation as a form. Sarkar (2003) maintains that it is the second stage or phase of the language of village Sutanati (the Shyambazar-Baghbazar-Shovabazar area of north Kolkata)- the so-called Kolkata cockney. Nath (2002) suggests that the aristocratic upper class of Kolkata, setting aside the Kolkata Cockney created an artificial language out of the contemporaneous gentle-folk speech of the Nadia region for their own use on formal occasions. This artificial language of the upper class developed into the *calit bhasa*.

The *calit* is rarely seen in the writings prior to the second half of the nineteenth century. Though it must be acknowledged that the dialogues in

jatras (open-air operas) and plays were often written in the *calit* form. During the whole of the nineteenth century and the first three decades of the twentieth century the *sadhu bhasa* held sway in literary works. Later, the *calit* form through a process of continuous refinement and purification effected by some of the perceptive and discerning writers has acquired a permanent place in the literary field. Now, the *sadhu* form has become almost a museum piece. It is used in some newspaper editorials, ceremonial letters, some religious discourses and rituals. Only a few authors like Kamal Kumar Majumdar, Nirode Chandra Chaudhuri and Rabindra Kumar Dasgupta continued to patronize the *sadhu* form. Even some authors of fiction have taken recourse to the *sadhu bhasa* for variety of composition: Bimal Kar in *Balika Bodhu*, Shrishendu Mukhopadhyay and Satyajit Ray among others in the speech of some of their characters - though in the latter two instances for topicality.

Conclusion

In conclusion, it can be said that diglossia in Bangla did prevail from the eighteenth century to the third quarter of the twentieth century and its existence can be well surmised in some form or the other in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. At present it is generally recognized as mentioned earlier diglossia in Bangla is almost non-existent with the virtual monopoly by the *calit bhasa* over both the literary and spoken domains.

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SPEECH TECHNOLOGY: ISSUES AND IMPLICATIONS IN INDIAN LANGUAGES

K. Nagamma Reddy (Ed.), 2000, HB, Demy 1/8, pp. xxviii + 298, Rs. 450/- (US\$ 90/-)

The book collects eighteen presentations and a preface and summation both by K. Nagamma Reddy who coordinated the Seminar in 2000 in the P.S. Telugu University, Hyderabad, along with the 28th Annual Conference of Dravidian Linguists. The presentations are masterly and capture the latest trends in I.T. efforts in the Indian languages and their problems. This volume is well printed, well edited and priced very low.

POINTS OF CONTACT BETWEEN PRAKRIT AND MALAYALAM

M.P. Sankunni Nair, 1995, HB, Demy 1/8, pp. viii+244, Rs. 400/- (US\$ 50/-)

This scholarly work deals with the inter-relation between the Prakrit and Malayalam languages, analyzed in a new perspective. Thorough in citing sources, the author has made a solid contribution to the study of Malayalam.

PROGRESS OF PHONOLOGY

T. Vasanthakumari, 2000, Demy 1/8, pp. xiv+189, Rs. 150/- (US\$ 20/-)

A theoretically-oriented book on phonology which covers all existing approaches to phonology in a masterly way. Useful for students and specialists in phonology.

THE FUNDAMENTALS OF MANUSCRIPTOLOGY

P. Visalakshy, 2003, PB, Demy 1/8, pp. xiv+130, Rs. 150/- (US\$ 15/-)

This book covers manuscriptology, writing material, scribe and writing language, and script, etc., with an year-conversion as an appendix. Dr. Laddu of Poona observes in his introduction: "compact introduction and presented in a simple language".

THE GRANTHA SCRIPT

P. Visalakshy, 2003, HB, Demy 1/4, pp. 320, Rs. 1,000/- (US\$ 100/-)

This is a sumptuously produced volume tracing the Grantha script used to transcribe Sanskrit texts and later Malayalam and Tamil scripts in a worthy treatise to be possessed by scriptologists. In the foreword, Dr. N.P. Unni praises the work for its utility.

Review

THE PEOPLING OF EAST ASIA: PUTTING TOGETHER ARCHAEOLOGY, LINGUISTICS AND GENETICS. Sagart L., Blench R. & Sanchez-Mazas A. (Eds.). 2005. London & New York: RoutledgeCurzon. Pp. xxiii + 323. British £75/-.

Reviewed by

T. MADHAVA MENON

Combined studies in Archaeology, Linguistics and Genetics are increasingly popular (Please see for example Cavalli-Sforza, Menozzi & Piazza 1994: "The History and Geography of Human Genes", reviewed in *IJDL:XXXIV:1* [January 2005, pp. 211-28]). The book under review seeks to test recent studies on language phyla of East Asia against archaeological findings and physical anthropology. The papers arose out of a workshop organised in France in 2001.

East Asia had 1,492,218,000 (approximately one and a half billion = 150 crore) humans in 2001, about one-fourth to one-third of world population [cf. Table; Source: from table 2.1. opposite page 32 of the book]. China

Country	Population (x 1000)	Per Cent
Laos	5,163	< 1
Malay Peninsula	10,115	1
Cambodia	10,716	1
Taiwan	21,507	1
Myanmar	44,497	3
Thailand	60,300	4
Vietnam	77,562	5
China	12,62,358	85
Total	14,92,218	> 100
due to rounding		

accounts for 85%. The Editors have not included Taiwan in China, and thus, "Taiwanese" Chinese account for another one percent. Home of the earliest human races, famous civilizations were established, from earlier than 7,000 years before Christ. The languages have been classified into phyla: *Sino-Tibetan* (antiquity about 9,000 years Before Present = 'BP'), known alternatively as "Tibeto-Burman, comprising among others, Chinese, Tibetan, Burmese, Jingpo etc., spoken in China including Tibet, Myanmar, Nepal, Bhutan, and North-east India; *Hmong-Mien* (also known as Miao-Yao), traced from about 2,500 years BP, comprising languages like Hmong, Mien, Ho, Nle etc., spoken in South China, North Viet Nam, and Laos; *Tai-Kadai* (synonym Kra-Dai), comprising Thai, Lao, Kam etc., languages, believed to have differentiated more than 4,000 years BP, and spoken in South China, Indochina, Myanmar; *Austro-Asiatic*, dated back to about 7,000 years BP, comprising languages like Vietnamese, Khmer, Mon, Khasi, Munda etc., languages, spoken in Indochina, Central Malaysia, Northeast India; and *Austronesian*, from about 5,500 years BP, comprising Atayal, Kukai, Paiwan, Tagalog, Malay, Malagasy, Hawaiian, Moari etc., spoken in Pacific Islands, New Guinea, Madagascar, etc.

The "Introduction" mentions various explanations of complex linguistic phenomena. Ethnolinguistic geography shows single dominant groups in each country, and a scatter of minorities. The second Section, on Linguistics, contains Diffloth's argument in favour of an early dispersal of shifting cultivators along watersheds and river valleys, to Northeast India. It is surmised that the relationship between Austro-Asiatic and Austronesian may be more remote than presently believed. There is a proposal to unify all five language phyla by tracing linkages through archaeology. An ancestral language might have been spoken about 8,500 years BP in North China Plain, associated with millet farming. Anthropologically, human remains had been found from regions around South China that for long supported a claim as an alternate centre of origin of modern *Homo sapiens sapiens*. Currently, based on molecular biology and mtDNA studies, consensus is that humans came "out of Africa"; but East Asia was one of the earliest abodes of humanity. A comparison between genetic and linguistic structures indicates correspondence between the two, but depending on geography, showing differentiation along a north south axis. East Asian lineages may be derived from different migrations, with a 'first' migration from Africa into southern Asia via a coastal route, followed by complex migrations.

The Sections: 1. Archaeology

Bellwood draws on Renfrew to suggest that agricultural economies and population pressures resulted in dispersal of people of different language

families. Chinese agriculture had a dual origin; rice-based in Middle Yangzi valley, and millet (*Setaria italica*)-based in Huanghe basin. *Panicum spp* millets, associated with hot dry climates, were also cultivated. Domestication of rice (*Oryza* species) occurred about 7000 B.C. (9,000 years BP). Millet cultivation was probably a secondary domestication, accomplished when sections migrated northwards, a couple of thousand years later. Many varieties of rice might have been native; the case of millets is different. Its spread in North China indicates early (6500 BC) contacts with Central Asia. Migration of speakers of now extinct Tocharian family of languages is indicated by discovery of Caucasoid mummies in Tarim Basin (2nd millennium BC). Tocharian like Anatolian and Italo-Celtic is a peripheral member of IE family. The hypothesis is that people migrating from east met with Tocharian speakers migrating to east. Sino-Tibetan speakers, it is hypothesized, moved across Eastern Himalayas into North-eastern India, probably already settled by Austro-Asiatic speakers.

Blench postulates that ethnic homogeneity developed by expansion of one group and assimilation of its neighbours. He attributes preponderance of Sinic group in Southeast Asia to lowland rice cultivation. Archaeological data indicates it was cultivated in Jiangxi in China from more than 10,000 years BP. Contrastingly, first cultivation of rice in India is only by about 2500 BC. Blench lists terms relating to rice (transplanted seedling, plant, paddy, hulled rice, cooked rice, rice soup, food = rice) in proto-Sinitic languages. The terms for the same items in Miao-Yao minority language (speakers scattered across South-central China and Northeast Thailand) are different. Thai (Daic = Tai-Kadai) languages has only one name for hulled, unhulled and cooked rice, indicating that their ancestors had adopted it later from expanding neighbours. Diffloth has a wide database for terms in Munda and Nicobarese languages. The article has a useful Appendix, rice vocabularies in Munda languages (including Gutob, Mundari, Santali, Ho, Birhor, etc.), and a similar set for Chamorro languages.

I consider his proposed ethno demographic model rather hasty. He theorises that single groups developed irrigated or rain-fed rice culture, and expanded into low-lands previously populated by people who lived by fishing, eventually driving the latter out, or assimilating them. The main evidence he adduces is that while rice-based populations in East Asia lowlands tend to be more or less "uniform" in language and culture, greater diversity is found among people of mountainous regions. But his hypothesis neither uniquely explains the phenomenon, nor negates any alternative hypothesis, e.g., that sections of the latter groups migrated into the sparsely populated low-lands and accidentally and eventually developed into

rice-cultivators, adopting irrigation and water management - these developed into "civilizations" with uniform systems of governance and societal organization. The original cultures still remained based on hunting and gathering, and therefore segmented into clan-like communities with associated linguistic diversity.

Tracey Lu shows that rice and millet had been domesticated in China in Yellow River and Yangzi River Valleys from 8,500 years BP. Archaeological findings in the two great river valleys of China indicate human habitation from 12,000 years BP.

"Current archaeological data suggest that Chinese civilization was founded on both these cereals, as remains were found in Zaojiaoshu of the Xia dynasty, and in Anyang of the late Shang dynasty in the middle Yellow Valley ... Foxtail and broomcorn (*Setaria* and *Panicum spp* ... respectively), millets as well as rice were sacred cereals in Bronze Age China, used for ancestor worship and other ritual activities." (Citing Chen 1933 ... p. 51)

She reports the rather startling results of two "experiments" observing simulated behaviour of communities cultivating *Setaria* and perennial wild rice (*O. rufipogon*):

- * Sedentarisation (permanent settlement) was not necessary for the beginning of cultivation.
- * There must have been the tendency to associate a particular territory with a particular group who would return to it periodically to harvest their plants.
- * In Neolithic times, the Yellow Valley was the core area for millets, and the Yangzi, for rice.
- * Rice Cultivation had extended into Yellow Valley by 7,000 years BP, only 1,500 years after it had started in Yangzi Valley.
- * The farming societies in the two areas differed significantly in toolkits, dwelling styles, pottery.

In other words, a semi-nomadic community of hunters and gatherers may initiate cultivation of both millets and rice. This contradicts Blench's hypothesis above. Significantly, root crops like taro and yams had already

been established there - of tropical origin, and not from China, indicating communities who migrated from tropical areas had already established there. She therefore attributes trans-cultural spread of rice and millet farming to cultural contacts, exchanges and adoption, rather than to trans-humance or replacement.

Tsang Cheng-hwa, cites discoveries in Taiwan, with implications for Austronesian origins. Human habitation in Taiwan dates to 15,000 years BP. Tapenkeng (TPK) culture is also known as the Corded Ware culture, and is the earliest Neolithic stratum in Taiwan, and probably the earliest horticulturists in Southeast Asia. Both Sino-Tibetan and Austronesian speakers are present. There is a good description of the relics uncovered during recent excavations, and some excellent pictures, including those of carbonised rice and millet grains. He concludes that Taiwan functioned as a bridge between Chinese mainland and Pacific islands. The people of TPK culture spoke Austronesian languages. Their interactions with later immigrants have yet to be traced in future investigations.

2. Linguistics

Diffloth leads discussion on Austronesian phylum, comprising Munda family of East India, Mon-Khmer of mainland Southeast Asia - it is one of the longest-established language families. As presented, it is in the form of brief notes. He reconstructs a lexicon for rice and faunal terminologies and presents a dendrogram showing probable dates of separation of various languages, ranging from 5000 B.C. to A.D. 1000. Nicobarese separated out, *circa* 3000 B.C. G. van Driem cites Klaproth who first indicated the Tibeto-Burman language family comprising of Tibetan, Burmese, and Chinese, "and all languages which can be demonstrated to be genetically related to these". The term "linguistic palaeontology" was applied to the techniques he had used. Van Driem contrasts this to British-sponsored idea of an "Indo-Chinese" family, which "still continues to lead a life of its own under the guise of 'Sino-Tibetan'" (p. 83). He proposes an "agnostic" picture showing loose grouping of languages, including Sinitic, not yet organised into a "tree". He proceeds to build a tree, developing his Sino-Bodic hypothesis, which, he claims, is a "higher level sub-grouping hypothesis involving Sinitic and those languages within TB (= Tibeto-Burman) which appear to be more immediately related to Sinitic than either are to, for example, Brahmaputran, Karbi, and other genetically remote groups" (p. 89). He supports this with a map (p. 90), showing spread of "historical geographic centre of a primary taxon or subgroup of languages of the TB

family". They spread from Himachal Pradesh through Nepal and Bhutan to North-Eastern States of India, and Myanmar, China, and eastern borders of Thailand and Laos. He proposed Sichuan, China as a probable homeland, but that might not explain its spread to Brahmaputra basin, Meghalaya and Bangladesh. He calls for more intensive archaeological and genetic studies of greater Himalayan region.

Ostapirat addresses himself to phonological development and vocabulary distribution of Austronesian-related etyma in Kra-Dai. These languages comprise Tai, Kam-Sui, Be, Hlai and Kra, of which the first three are often referred to together as Kam-Tai. He tries to show that Austronesian and Kra-Dai are genetically related. Proto-Austronesian was probably spoken in Taiwan or the adjacent South China coast 6,000 years BP. Reid reviews lexical and morphosyntactic status of "Austic" defined as comprising the Austronesian family and the Austro-Asiatic. The paper is a critique of Hayes 1999. He admits that "the evidence is not as convincing as one would wish" to establish a genetic relationship. They might have descended from a common, proto-Austic immediate ancestor. "The concept of 'Austic' as a language family may eventually need to be abandoned in favour of a wider language family which can be shown to include both AN and AA language families, but not necessarily as sisters of a common ancestor" (p. 150). The appendix contains forms from the basic vocabulary collected by Hayes. There are a number of words from Bonda, Munda, Kui, etc., but the data leads to only speculative inferences.

Sagart pushes an "updated and improved argument" for his theory that Chinese and Austronesian are genetically related in a macrophylum he terms "Sino-Austronestian". Linguistic evidence consists of 61 basic vocabulary items with sound correspondences and shared morphological processes (c.g., 'body hair' = *gumuN* in "Proto Austronesian or Proto East Coast Linkage" (Sagart's "own invention"), *mu[r]* with the ideogram and an initial superscript "b" in "Old Chinese", and *mul* in Tibeto-Burman. The table is hard reading, with a series of superscript small letters, and another series indicating references to authorities, the key to the expansion of the abbreviations used being relegated to the end of the article. (We have to wait till page 167 for the explanation of the superscript letters - they indicate contrastive syllable types). The evidentiary value of this list is suspect, and admittedly inadequate, the author conceding that 'they will be discussed elsewhere' (p. 165). He claims that sound correspondences relate the last syllable of Proto-Austronesian words with Chinese monosyllabic word stems. Shared morphology is claimed in the focus constructions of

Austronesian, and differential voicing of the root initial in Chinese and Tibetan. The main advantage Sagart claims for his great adventure is that his theory best explains the spread of a millet based agriculture to Taiwan - a mountain producing a mouse! Sagart comes on again with a (thankfully) brief hypothesis that Tai Kadai split from an ancestor language only about 4,000 years BP, after some post-Proto innovations in some Austronesian languages.

For the author of the next article on Proto-East Asian languages also, Archaeology is the driving influence. He takes his cue from dichotomy of millet and rice cultures. Two great strains of people speaking different languages fanned out from the plains of Huang He and Yangzi rivers. One climbed Himalayas, settled Tibet, rounded Himalayas through Karokorum, and formed sub-Himalayan colonies. Another followed rivers, and a branch came up the Brahmaputra to people North-Eastern States of India; they proceeded west until they met the group heading east after having rounded Himalayas. Other groups developed different technologies that enabled them to navigate seas and settle Pacific Islands, as well as Nicobar, and westward to Madagascar, on African coast. Of course, the theory is loosely knit, with several gaps. It may be plausible because the time span is nearly 10,000 years - long enough for humans to have attempted and achieved fantastic feats. The linguistic analysis is scanty, and patently inadequate; even the author is apologetic about it. I attempt to present a condensed summary of some of his views in the table annexed (at the end).

Part III is on Genetics and Physical Anthropology. After the Human Genome Project, mapping spread of different alleles making up human genetic inheritance has been better understood. This new "History and Geography of the Human Genes" has obsolete old theories of multi-centric origination of modern *H. sapiens sapiens*. Now, it is generally believed that the species originated in Africa, but diffused itself throughout the world. The history of the human 'race' therefore becomes the history of human migrations.

The first paper in this part, by Pietrusewsky, surveys evidence from measurements of a large number of crania collected from East Asia. Statistical techniques are employed to conclude that two divisions, Australo-Melanesian, and Asian complex of many types, suggest separate origins. The second paper studies Genetic Diversity of Taiwan's Indigenous Peoples. About 12,000 years ago, the Indian and Pacific Oceans were much shallower, and great islands Borneo and Sumatra, and smaller ones of

Taiwan and Hainan, were all connected with Asian mainland. Taiwan would have been a stop over point in vast human migratory dynamics. Chu analyses the genetic composition of minority populations of China. The continuity of fossils found in China had challenged the out-of-Africa hypothesis of human evolution for a long time. East Asian populations share a single origin arising from a strain that moved from Africa long ago. Poloni *et al* address the questions of biological origins and linguistic associations. There is correlation between these aspects, and several reasons to explain that. Mazas *et al* take up this farther when considering HLA genetic diversity and linguistic variations in East Asia. They scanned the vast literature now available, and used the most sophisticated statistical methods. They emphasize the role of geography and graphically illustrate it in several attractive plates: plate VII shows distribution of a particular set of allele frequencies in 48 populations correlated to language families. The gradation is clearly determined by geographical distance. A "least controversial" phylogenetic table is presented, tracing differentiation among speakers of 40 Asian languages. In the concluding paper, Underhill traces Y-Chromosome diversity among populations of East Asia and Oceania. The earliest successful human colonisation of Asia is about 60,000 years ago. A unique origin is supported, but it divides into three different clades. Of these, one probably originated in Africa. This allele is more frequently expressed in Tibet, Japan (Ainu?) and the Andamanese. Two mutations present in Asia have not been reported from Africa - indicating that they are evolved after the migration out of Africa.

The book contains valuable insights into the demographic, cultural and linguistic make up of about one third of the world's human population. The theories are seminal, and require uncountable studies of details in micro-situations. The impressive bibliographies appended to each contribution shows how rarely Indian authors feature in them. Even in regard to languages, the work of Indian scholars in the area of Mundari and other languages find scant mention. The book does mention that Austronesian and Afro-Asiatic language speakers did come in contact with Dravidian speakers, tacitly assuming that Dravidians were already there. Archaeological evidence has to be re-interpreted in the light of this insight. It is well known that Physical Anthropological types of all the strains were are found in Harappan sites, but whether it indicates such an encounter has yet to be established. Linguistic evidence can be evaluated if and only after the Harappan inscriptions are successfully deciphered - of course speculation that it may be Austro-Asiatic is permissible. But evidence is certainly enough to establish without doubt or controversy any direct genetic common origin to these language families.

Another area, microscopic though it is, that has been only mentioned, but not adequately analysed is the very ancient Negrito populations of Andaman Islands. Though Thangaraj *et al* 2003: "Genetic affinities of the Andaman Islanders, a vanishing human population" (*Current Biology* 13: 86-93) has been cited, the implications for their migration and settlement have not been worked out in the linguistic context - their language is considered part of the Austronesian family, though earlier it was considered to be a language isolate. The book under review contains hardly any reference to the languages there, though it is clear that the Nicobarese language is different from that of the small but distinct Andamanese tribes. They certainly seem to be outliers, inadequately covered in the general theoretical frameworks proposed in the book under review.

The book is beautifully produced. We may expect several more such combined studies based on Archaeology and Genetics throwing light on Linguistic phenomena as well. Linguistic studies may have to expand from descriptions of single languages to common features of inter-related languages, and non-related families as well. Human languages have to be studied in the context of human evolution and migration in a matrix of millennia of cultural histories.

[Sting in the tail!: There is a highly suspicious over-emphasis on Taiwan, projecting it as if it is distinct from Mainland China. This makes one suspect that one of the unsaid purposes of this publication is to substantiate the claims of the political regime in that island to pose itself as an equal in the comity of world nations to the People's Republic of China, which has always claimed Taiwan as part of its realm. British and US intellectual circles have been notoriously implicated in efforts by their political secret agencies to influence intellectual theories.]

Name	Date BCE	Geographical Spread and culture	Linguistic features
1. Pre-Austronesian	5000	From River Huang He to Gulf of Chihli; riverine navigation littoral sea-faring, millet and rice cultivation. Known to the Chinese as the Yi people; the eastern expansion of the Chinese people assimilated them.	-

2. Proto-Austronesian	3500	From Taiwan via Pesa- dores to the southwest coast, but ultimately absorbed by Sinitic and Kadai speakers. Neolithic, because uten- sils comprised of pot- tery and polished stone implements. Seafarers migrated back and forth and colonised Southern China coasts, Philip- pines, and most of the Pacific land areas except for mainland Papua-New Guinea and Australia.	Nominalising pro- cess, with agent- markers, and ver- bal nouns
3. Sino-Tibetan- Yangzian	5500	The main population who spread from the Huang He basin towards the Yellow Sea. Millet cultivators mainly.	First syllable of original Proto East Asian disyl- lables de-stressed; inventory of vowels reduced; elimina- tion of first vowel in some words.
4. Sino-Tibetan	5000-	At the west end of the Sino-Tibetan Austro- nesian language world- scape. ST split into Himalayo-Burman and Sino-Bodic. Mainly mil- let cultivators	
	5500		
Sino-Bodic	5800		
Sinitic	1500	Millet cultivators. Dev- eloped into Chins Civil- ization. Earliest writing in ‘oracle bones’ and Old Chinese ‘reconst- ructed’ language of Western Zhou dynasty.	Monosyllabic tone languages. Ideo- grams

Tangut-Bodish	?	Moved west up the Huang He, divided into two sub-groups. Bodish continued to move west up the river; Tangut Himalayan northwest. Migration along the (later so formed) Silk Route, turned south, crossed the Karokorum Range into Kashmir, and originated the Himalayan sub-group. From the western point, it spread along the southern edge of the Himalayas.
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Himalayo-Burman	6500	Moved up Huang He and through Sichuan and Sanxingdui, west to the Himalayas, south to Burma, and beyond. Came into contact with Tibetan at the western end. Another branch, Kamarupan, proceeded along the southern reach of the Brahmaputra through Assam ("the so-called Khasi Corridor") which moved west until it met the Bodish sub-groups moving in the other direction.
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Southern Himalayo-Burman	Another branch that moved south through Yunnan; bronze ware users. Technologically advanced, helmeted horse-riding head-
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		hunters. Eliminated speakers of Austro-Asiatic languages. Isolated the Khasi by sealing the "Corridor". Karens spread to Burma and beyond.
5. Yang Zian: Hmong-Mein		Found scattered in mountainous pockets from Yunnan to Hainan (Island), and North Vietnam, Laos, Thailand.
6 Austro-Asiatic	4000	Rice-culture; probably pushed out of China river valleys by above-mentioned. Spread south along the Mekong; occupied Laos. Into North Burma, through Khasi Corridor to Assam. There pre-Mundas followed the Brahmaputra into NE Indian plain; interacted with previous Dravidian speakers; Khasis remained in Assam. Other branches spread out into Thailand, Malaysia, etc.
7 Austronesian	2500-400: Austro-nesian & Nicobarese	South from the Philippines. To Sumatra in Indonesia. Up through the Indo-China peninsula to Vietnam, Cambodia, parts of Malaysia. Coastal fishing and trading. Colonised Nicobar Islands, and to Madagascar, giving rise to Malagasy.

Review

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Reviewed by

B. GOPINATHAN NAIR

Tapasam is a Malayalam English bilingual quarterly journal of Kerala Studies published by the Association for Comparative Studies, an academic forum that promotes scholarly discussions and publications on various aspects of Kerala Studies.

The section on Malayalam articles comprises the major themes - literature, history and the works of Anand, critically evaluating them as literary experiments that embrace history and attune the language to befit the purpose for which it is used. These papers mostly pertain to Malayalam literature viz. more than a century old novels such as Chandu Menon's *Indulekha*, Potteri Kunjambu's *Saraswathivijayam*, less than two decades old novels of Anand, *aalkkūttam*, *veettakkaaranum virunnukaaranum* and other plays, the Maṇipravāla works of Middle Malayalam period, and the contribution of L.V. Ramaswamy Iyer to Kerala Studies and linguistics during the quarter of a century beginning from 1920-s. Despite their subjective outlooks, the authors clearly depict the then prevalent views, their reflection to the changing socio-cultural scenario linking the political, economic besides religious and educational reforms evolved through the spatiotemporal sphere and its impact on contemporary thought and literature in the backdrop of multidisciplinary perspectives.

M.G.S. Narayanan pondering the incidents and characters in *Indulekha* avers that it is the first serious social novel though not great but readable that stands as a reliable historical record of the then existent social set-up of Malabar and jots his crisp observations. The two characters - Indulekha and Madhavan are depicted as idealistic, others mostly realistic, the Bengali characters as romantic and the buffoon Suurinampoothiripad as

humorous. Except the hero and heroine the rest of the characters can find their place only in the late 19th century South Malabar. Considering the gaining of English education and employment in Government service as prestigious, many members of the Nair family of Malabar had achieved this desired goal and Chandu Menon was not an exception. Working as Munsif, attending cases related to lease-deeds and family partitions, he might have greatly worried about the piteous conditions of the matrilineal Nair community, its increasing economic downfall as well as the disgraceful *sambandham* with the Nampoothiris. He had responded to the nationalism of the congress, the western utilitarian plea of the administrators which had been easily accepted and praised by the neo-literates, the traditional Indian philosophy and several streams of thought in the Indian social scenario and tried to project a pan-Indian background to the novel by portraying vividly the national awareness arisen due to English education, which thrust upon discernible changes in the social life of Malabar.

Raghava Varier asserts the salient features of Maṇipravāḷa literature bestowing a new meaning to it from a folkloristic view. The poetic descriptions of the bustling markets, the serene village temples, the dwelling houses of dancers, the beautiful way-sights and landscapes in and around, the places where people assemble amidst hilarious clamour - all these create a festive atmosphere in Maṇipravāḷa works. The vivid description and the repetitive nature of the narratives show the intended presentation of the comprehensive picture of a true segment of life barring the degree of exaggeration occurring in such literary creations. A sound knowledge of the ways, beliefs and behaviour of the folk and their life is essential for understanding these works. The geographic basis of life is the agricultural village. The economic system based on agriculture, the favouring of cash crops over food crops, the consequent enormous growth of exchange centres, subsequently arisen new civilization and the multifaceted vigour of all these had created the atmosphere of festivity that spread throughout Middle Malayalam literature. Varier observes that the lively festivity of the economic system, its diffusion to various perspectives of life and world view later established in the world of ideas can be seen as imprints in the works of Maṇipravāḷa period that stands as a distinct stage in the development of the literary history of Malayalam.

Looking from a socio-historical perspective, Dileep Kumar projects certain aspects of Maṇipravāḷa literature viz. the picturesque description of the markets, the market produces, the traders' discussions - all of which indicate the formation and establishment of an orderly life of the people in a small village. All that is required for their daily life is available in the

markets. Among these, the names of medicine occupy predominance; more than eighty numbers of these are mentioned of which many are found only outside Kerala. The list of domestic articles include vessels of varying types used for preparation and serving food, besides those for large scale preparations in connection with festivals at temples. Several patterns of dress indicate the progressive changes occurred in fashion designs; more than thirty kinds of paddy seeds show the variety of paddy cultivation and different type of cosmetics mark the existence of a flourished life. The great social esteem accorded to temples made them the centre of attention. Temples were vested with the power to collect revenue resources directly and also to carry on legal matters. The local rulers had gifted paddy fields to these temples. Through religious rites and celebrations they were bound to the temples. Amid the symbols of prosperity there were ample evidences to indicate spite and resentment in Maṇipravāla works.

Veluttāṭṭu Kesavan affirms that the literary works can be used as a source for historical writings such as the use of Vedic literature and Sangam works in writing Indian history. Besides, the datability of a literary text is often confirmed on the basis of the historical hints available in it. Literature reflects the socio-economic situations besides several aspects of a particular period with dates and incidents but the historian need not accept them *in toto* however, he can utilize them to discern history. He further asserts that to comprehend the French revolution, the novels of Dickens and the poems of Wordsworth are sometimes helpful than the books on history. The historian apprehends, analyses and links a literary work to history through the relevant narrative incidents. He explicates his views on the strength of the studies of Gayatri Spivak based on a famous short story of Mahaswetadevi titled *Stanadaayini* and that of Romila Dhaper on the stories of *Śakuntala*. The basic goal of literature is aesthetic appreciation; however, greater the attention imposed on historical aspects, lesser would be the appreciation of its aesthetics.

Benjamin asserts that Anand is a thinker not a historian, but his thoughts are largely bound in history and he profusely makes use of historical factors especially those of Indian history, which may even be an obsession to him. These thoughts in the form of insights are abstract notions that are not absolutely clear to him and to translate them into meaningful expressions he relies on the tricks of writing stories, which is not uncommon in world literature. The philosophic writers like Kafka and Kamu had experimented this with novels and plays; though they did not try to impose their thoughts but urged the readers to experience it. Anand who looks at the possibilities of novel, short story and drama searches effective communicative outlets for his abstract thoughts. The strong hold of supremacy, power

and slavery are history to him and he attempts to narrate and make the readers experience it through the characters, incidents, and dialogues in his literary works, nevertheless there are differences of opinion regarding his historical perspectives.

Ajayakumar observes that one can discern from the main characters in *aalkkūttam*, the assemblage of individuals centred in modern cities and their subsequent scattering in the Indian background. The style of writing creates a sense of stillness of time by the profuse use of words indicating stagnation and decisiveness. The prolific words denoting the symbols of infinity viz. sky, ground, sea, deserts, plains, distance etc. rather induce a sense of confinement of these infinities within bounds. Sights as the main warp and woof of the fabric, thoughts transformed into dialogues that create a philosophic perspective, numerous descriptions appearing as stills or as moving pictures but within specified boundaries; everything made into visualization that spread in space - all these are centrifugal in this novel. The language is devoid of dialectal, regional or registral features. Certain syntactic patterns used on several occasions bear similarity to that of English as the dialogues pertain to those coming from different linguistic regions to the city of Bombay for whom the possible communicative medium would be English, which perhaps may be the reason for this alien linguistic usage that in a sense can be considered as appropriate as rightly observed by Ajayakumar though the purists may differ.

Anand's novel *veettakkaaranum virunnukaaranum* is not a comprehensive historical account of the growing religious communalism, its conflicts or confrontations in the country even in the author's opinion, on the contrary, he is aware of its existence, spread, evil consequences and eventually contemplates a positive effect of religion to peaceful life and makes an enquiry in that direction. He perceives the Hindu communalism in a problem-wise basis as opposed to the Muslim racialism from a historical outlook and attempts to establish the popularity of polytheism in this novel. What he sees in Hinduism is a meeting place of many festivals - it is the festivals of Gods and beliefs. He tries to vindicate the greatness of Hindu culture viz. pluralism, humanism, kindness, open-mindedness etc. and depicts Islam as the opposite pole of all these and says that from the beginning Islam is the religion of ancient racial customs, ignorance and it has no way of attaining salvation. The Hindu nationalists exhort their clarion call by upholding the greatness of the philosophic thoughts of Ancient India. The novel disregards all socio-economic problems and discerns them as religious matters. Anand openly opposes the Islamic fundamentalism leading to the international terrorism as well as the Islamic communalism in

Kerala, which stance as remarked by Biju that persuades a group of readers to hunt Anand and others to give him a sumptuous feast.

Sajitha asserts that the basic theme of Anand's plays is similar to that in his novels viz. the problems in the religious, historical and political history of post-Independent India. Novels and plays are chain of historical studies, the writer's duty is to interpret history and according to Anand all his works are moulded through clear and accurate engineering. He wrote only two plays - *Mukthipadham* and *Śavakhoosayaatra*, perhaps to render his basic theme for stage performance. The former contains a large number of scenes; it is an exhibition ground of what happened and what is going on in Indian history. The large assemblage of characters renders a crowd effect to the stage that is unusual experience. In both the novels, *aalkkūttam* and *abhayaarthikal*, the assassination of Gandhi becomes a background of one of the political changes only whereas in the plays that becomes the main theme. Besides, the purpose of the play is to glorify Gandhi. Both the plays of Anand do not require conventional stage. The abundance of lengthy dialogues with a view to provide more information to the audience rather than the importance to stage performance can be seen in *Mukthipadham*. In the performance level the two plays are utter failure as pointed out by Sajitha.

Indu looks at *kuuttu-kuuttiyaattam*, a visual art formed by the mingling of Sanskrit plays and the ancient mode of acting in Kerala, its literature, performance and the sense of humour and its covert indication and criticism of the political, literary and cultural incidents in the context of situation. This ancient art performed by a numerically small community called Chakkiyaar, however had a wider spread in Kerala. Almost all big temples of Kerala have *kuttampalam*, which were constructed for performing this art and all the kings; administrators and the common people appreciated, encouraged and honoured it. However, modernity has changed the situation.

Dileep Menon emphasizes the social problems confronted especially by the lower caste communities under the colonial rule as reflected in Kunjambu's *Saraswathivijayam*. Unlike Chandu Menon who had his own literary convictions, Kunjambu had no such specific notions about realism and the aesthetics of writing novels. He wanted to present the realities of the pathetic state of the Pulayas of Kerala and to uplift their position to the extent possible through his writings. Born in a Tiya community, being the victim of bitter experiences of social injustice, he had his education and became a lawyer in the Munsif court in North Malabar. *Saraswathivijayam* written in 1892 can be discerned as part of the author's frequent sufferings

and involvement in the Hindu traditions to which he belonged but had denied his proper place in it. Kunjambu hated not the Hinduism but only the Brahmin caste as observed by Moorkoothu Kumaran. Regarding the literary merit of the novel it is not an exemplary one though there exist diverse opinions. After the lapse of four and a half decades when the second edition appeared in 1937 considerable changes took place in the socio-political scenario. By then the Tiyas had risen to a most progressive community in Kerala. A sizable group of the community who kept aloof from the mainstream due to casteism and other social evils began to support the congress nationalism from 1935. The growth of the socialist party and the spread of equality in social and educational sectors made radical changes in outlook in the literary world necessitating new literary works in the common man's language. Kunjambu's novel dealing with the miserable life of the Harijans written in lucid Malayalam prose has been acclaimed.

Venugopala Panikkar provides an overview of LVR's contribution to Kerala studies with reference to three articles viz. (i) 'Pictures of Ancient Kerala Life' (1946. BRVRI-13) which deals with the cultural life of the people of Kerala as reflected in Old Tamil songs of the beginning of the Christian era. It ascertains the presence of parallel evidences in the cultural history in respect of the linguistic facts observed in his studies on Malayalam and comparative Dravidian. The divergence of Tamil Malayalam languages and cultures might have occurred some centuries prior to the production of the earlier records in the language called as Keralabhasa and completed by about 10th century A.D. The songs of *ettut-tokai*, *pattuppaattu*, *patinan kiilkanakku* etc. might have been composed by many poets at different times and several portions in *Kural* and *Kalittokai* might have been composed after the first stage of Old Tamil. *Cilappatikaaram* written much later and *Maṇimekhalai* will contribute greatly for understanding the history of Kerala. For reconstructing the early history of Kerala, primarily one has to examine *Tolkaappiyam* that preserves several archaic features. The next stage is the period of early Malayalam inscriptions. LVR hopes that the establishment of Malayalam as an independent language might have started at a later period when Kodum Tamil is believed to have separated from Centamil; (ii) 'Our Language - A Causerie', the source of which is unclear deals with historical, comparative and descriptive aspects of linguistics. LVR says that the Malayalam language dealt within grammatical works is the written variety and the dialects are often disregarded. The living language is an assemblage of regional and social dialects and linguistic investigation must look into these diversities for which a dialect survey of Malayalam is essential. He exemplifies this with reference to pronunciation, structure and semantics. Also discusses such issues

viz. preparing dialect maps of Malayalam, drawing the isoglosses, how dialect maps will help Anthropology, Sociology etc., besides illustrating certain lexicographic features of the Christian dialect and states the role of such a survey in revealing the archaic features of Kerala culture; (iii) The article 'Linguistica' appeared in 1931 in the Quarterly Journal of Mythic Society, Bangalore discusses the progress of European linguistics in the first three decades of the 20th century. He mentions about experimental phonetics, comparative syntax, semantics, descriptive studies and how comparative linguistic techniques are used in Sanskrit studies. Linguistics can give substantial contribution to history, archaeology and anthropology. After briefing the contributions of Grierson, Sidheswar Varma, Suniti Kumar Chatterji and Babu Ram Saxena, he states the new experiments in Dravidian linguistics. As remarked by Panikkar it would be a great service to publish all the works of LVR for a critical evaluation of his contribution to the growth of Malayalam and Dravidian linguistics. *IJDL Vol.7.1* (1978) contains a few review articles along with a bibliography of LVR and later reprinted it as a booklet entitled *Pioneers in Linguistic Series I*.

The column 'From the Archives' includes the Milan Manuscripts in Malayaanma script preserved in the Ambrosian Library at Milan. It contains two documents viz. (i) the petition submitted by the Marthoma Christians in 1645 under the leadership of Arcadyacon dealing with serious allegations against the Garsya Metropolitan and the Clergy who ruled them to the Portuguese Viceroy, (ii) the decisions of the meeting of the clergy of Marthoma Christians held at Edappally on 25th December 1632 which reflect their self respect and frustrations. They are reproduced as such without changing to modern Malayalam form and script. The vocabulary with meanings given as footnotes and the sound changes and semantic shifts observed in Malayalam is interesting and useful from a historical perspective. The section 'Research Scene' provides the gist of four PhD Dissertations, which is useful to the younger researchers.

'Complementing the Books' is another section marked for critical review of research works on Kerala Studies either by the authors themselves or the readers. Sunil P. Elayidam's article on Mural as a critique of the modern aesthetic, is a solid study of the theme besides a review of the work, 'Wall Paintings of Northern Kerala' by Albrecht Frenz and K.K. Marar. Discussing certain theoretical assumptions about the potentials of contemporary mural art and practice in the backdrop of Kerala mural tradition, which also shares the same problems the reviewer says that none of the Kerala murals exist as an object of aesthetic contemplation. All of them were drawn on the walls of temples, churches, palaces etc. and the spatial spread ascribes a distinct position to their pictorial existence. The advent of

canvas, replaced the picture from the walls into a private and exclusive space. 'Wall paintings of Northern Kerala' contemplates on the evolution of mural art by focusing the tradition of last seven centuries by reproducing the temple murals of Maniyur and Mokeri of 12th century A.D. to those of Kademberi and Parayil of 19th century besides showing the resemblances between murals of Kerala and the Ajantha cave paintings.

'From contact to Conquest: Transition to British Rule in Malabar 1790-1805' by Margaret Frenz is a briefing based on the German dissertation submitted to the University of Hydelberg, later published in English. It deals with the historical events and concepts of rule in late 18th century Malabar represented in a wider context with the two models - the little kingdom and the contact zone which are elaborated on the case study of two rulers viz. Pazhassi Raja of Kottayam and Vira Varmma of Kurumpranatu explicating why Pazhassi Raja preferred independence, even if it meant death to submission, besides the model of the contact zone depicting how different cultures developed creative processes of negotiation after meeting.

'Jewish Malayalam Folk Songs' (JMFS) contain a summary of the two books and a CD released by the Hebrew University of Jerusalem on Jewish Women's songs in Malayalam. Ben-Zvi Institute, Jerusalem, published a Malayalam-Hebrew bilingual volume titled *Kārkulali* with Hebrew translations and critical notes in both languages edited and translated by Scaria Zacharia and Ophira Gamliel, besides a German anthology of JMFS in translation by Albrecht Frenz and Scaria Zacharia. The diaspora community of Kerala Jewish women had conveyed religious and local community knowledge through Malayalam folk songs performed on various social gatherings viz. wedding, religious and family festivals, circumcision etc. and also as Synagogue songs. Scaria's analysis shows that these songs contain largely Malayalam words besides those of Tamil, Sanskrit and Hebrew. The corpus of different genre of folk songs and the use of certain Jewish Malayalam hybrids and unique Malayalam words to denote Jewish religious objects and concepts indicate the demarcation of a separate Malayalam Jewish folk literature rather than a distinct dialect.

The current issue of Tapasam on the whole justifies its goal of presenting novel ideas, critical evaluations as well as diverse perspectives on several aspects of Kerala studies by providing splendid material for thought and uphold a reasonable norm in contents and appearance. The Editor and the contributors well deserve appreciation for accomplishing this earnest academic enterprise.

Report

**PROCEEDINGS OF THE 33rd ALL INDIA
CONFERENCE OF DRAVIDIAN LINGUISTS**

NAIRRITA BHATTACHARYA

The inaugural function of the 33rd *All India Conference of Dravidian Linguists*, which began in the Rajaraja Varma Auditorium of the International School of Dravidian Linguistics, Thiruvananthapuram on 16.6.05 at 10 a.m., was marked by the presence of the Honourable Minister for Education Sri. E.T. Mohammad Basheer, Government of Kerala. He inaugurated the conference and also the newly constructed first floor of the Library. The Minister also gave away the following awards:

- * Sunitikumar Chatterji Prize to Prof. Bh. Krishnamurti for his book *The Dravidian Languages*.
- * Lachmi Jessoram Gidwani Prize to Dr. Scaria Zacharia for his book *Kārkulali* 'Jewish Women's Songs in Malayalam' with Hebrew translation.
- * Hermann Gundert Prize to Sri. Pulavar Maniyan for his book *Kongu Tamizh Dialect with Etymological Notes*.
- * Dr. George Jacob Prize for the best Dictionary to Dr. U.P. Upadhyaya for his book *Samkhipta Tulu Padakosha*.
- * P. Somasekharan Nair Endowment Prize for the best Dialect Dictionary to Sri. Mudenur Saganna for his dictionary *Cigateripadakosha*.
- * S.M. Katre Prize for the Top Scorer in M.A. Linguistics to Ms. Shilpa Vernekar, from Karnatak University, Dharwad.

In his inaugural speech, the Honourable Minister marked the Institute as a trendsetter in the field of Linguistics. He specially mentioned the high quality of its publications, especially the encyclopaedias. He also emphasized that this kind of assemblage, once in a year and having discussions about the various aspects of the language and the recent developments in this field, helps to the study of our civilization. Comparative study enriches our knowledge about human civilization.

Justice P.R. Gokulakrishnan, the Chairman of the I.S.D.L., presided over the function. In his presidential address he thanked the Honourable Minister for inaugurating the Conference as well as the newly constructed first floor of the Library and for his assurance to extend all possible help towards the institution on behalf of the Government. Justice Gokulakrishnan said that though the Dravidian culture and languages are more ancient than the Sanskrit language and culture, it always remained neglected by the Government in Delhi. The researches were scanty and it was never encouraged by the people of the North. Only recently the Central Government has recognized Tamil as a Classical language. He felt proud for that.

Two portraits were also unveiled on this occasion. Dr. Seshagiri Prabhu's portrait was unveiled by Dr. Puthussery Ramachandran, and Dr. C.L. Antony's portrait was unveiled by Dr. C.J. Roy.

Dr. J. Neethivanan, formerly of Madurai-Kamaraj University, delivered the academic Presidential Address on *Dravidian Diaspora: Unexplored Areas*. The term 'diaspora' which meant 'dispersion' was originally used collectively for the dispersed Jews. Later it is explained as a process of settlement and adaptation relating to a large range of transnational migration movements. Tamils and Telugus constitute the major chunk of the Dravidian diaspora. He mentioned about the different forms of diasporic community viz., victim, labour, trade, imperial and cultural. Almost, the entire Dravidian diaspora fall under the form labour. Dravidian speakers migrated to a number of countries across the world mostly as indentured labourers. The modern day migration to western countries is also prompted by 'white-collar jobs', which could also be termed as another variant of 'labour'. When diaspora is understood in terms of 'transnational migration movements', all those Dravidian communities who have migrated to another country without the intention of returning home or transferring their earnings back home, should be treated as constituting the Dravidian diaspora. According to the speaker, the religious attitudes of the Dravidian diaspora are another area requiring serious attention just like their linguistic attitudes. As the linguistic attitudes is not conducive for the maintenance of the ethnic mother tongue, the religious attitude of the Hindu diaspora is very much in favour of maintaining the traditional rituals and festivals with great enthusiasm and reverence. The Hindus believe that the identity which they have lost due to the loss of mother tongue could very well be sustained by maintaining the religious identity.

Prof. B. Gopinathan Nair welcomed the gathering and Dr. Naduvattom Gopalakrishnan proposed the vote of thanks. Immediately after the inauguration, two Endowment Lectures on L.V. Ramaswamy Iyer were

delivered by his two living students: Mr. K. Chandrasekharan Nair and Mr. T. Madhava Menon.

Mr. K. Chandrasekharan Nair, an advocate and the former Minister of Education, Government of Kerala, recalled his association with L.V. Ramaswamy Iyer in Maharaja's College, Ernakulam, when he was a student there. L.V.R. was Professor in the English Department and he knew nine languages, which includes Malayalam and Tamil. Mr. Chandrasekharan was very active in politics and participated in the quit India movement, but L.V.R. was very kind to him and never discouraged him from involving in the political activities. L.V.R. never took any attendance in the classes, as it was certain that every student would attend his class. He used to help all the students whoever in need of assistance. The college had a good library and Mr. Chandrasekharan used to contact him for books to read. L.V.R. himself used to read a particular book for several times and on every occasion he was able to imbibe certain new matters out of that book. L.V.R. was a man of few words, not much of conversation, but he was always very humble and gentlemanly. He never saw him losing his temper or raising his voice. Mr. Chandrasekharan also told about his habit of collecting new English words appearing in the newspapers. Coining of new words enrich the language. He urged that the I.S.D.L. should take up a study of new words and their formation.

Mr. T. Madhava Menon I.A.S. (Retd.) and a Senior Fellow in the I.S.D.L. said that it was actually fifty years ago that he was a student of L.V.R. He was very particular that he should attend L.V.R.'s classes. The students were very much fascinated by L.V.R.'s style of speech. According to Mr. Menon, just listening to him was enough to prepare for the exams in a better way. L.V.R. used to express his ideas in minimum number of words. Mr. Menon recalled him as a pleasing figure, very logical, very uncompromising, but of very high standard morals.

Afternoon Session (2.30 - 5 p.m.)

After lunch, two paper-reading sessions took place. The first session was on *Discourse Analysis* and the second session was on *Semantics and Semiotics*.

Session I: Discourse Analysis

Three papers were presented in this session, which was chaired by Dr. N. Vedamani Manuel. Mr. K. Parameswaran (Kerala University) in his paper *The Discourse of Radio News* mentioned that radio news is a special kind of language use, distinct from other radio programs that use language like talks, documentaries and dramas. It forms a special kind of discourse,

the parameters of which are mainly determined by the fact that it is borne out of a script that is written down to be read and heard rather than to be comprehended by the reader himself. These parameters, in turn, generate a set of nine characteristics that determine the nature of the radio news discourse. The factors that distinguish radio news from other discourse are invisible audience, non-reactive listeners, relatively short sentences, complete sentence structures, number of items, selection of lexical items, grammatical markers and sense markers, live broadcast and written script.

The next speaker, Mr. Anas, M.B. (Kerala University), spoke on *A Problematic Approach to the Language Acquisition by the Hearing-Impaired Children*. The biggest consequence of hearing impairment is the improper development of language and communication skill. By the age of three years, a normal child masters the art of communication through oral patterns and also develops the sequence of thinking and reasoning. But a hearing-impaired child does not attain these stages easily. They confront the absence of oral communication because of their handicap, which eventually retards their level of thinking and reasoning. He emphasized that the structure of our language affects our way of thinking. Language acquisition is also essential for learning and intellectual development. He also mentioned that, however, with proper special training, a hearing impaired child could acquire some language. It is necessary to provide extra support to take his language development in a normal way. Three crucial factors that facilitate verbal language acquisition in the hearing impaired are early intervention, consistent and appropriate amplification and parental guidance and counselling. The mother and the child form one single unit who need guidance and help. The author concluded his paper by saying that language acquisition is not such an uphill task for a hearing -impaired if properly trained from the earliest. A hearing impaired child may not acquire the real language with all its fluency and flair, but may acquire a form of the language much more than that will enable him to fulfil his daily needs.

Dr. Scaria Zacharia noted that these children need language training from very early childhood. Dr. Vedamani Manuel pointed out that visual feedback would also help a lot to these children. The participants in the discussion were of the opinion that, with intensive training, the hearing-impaired children can achieve all concepts, numbers and grammars as they have normal IQ.

The third paper in this session was presented by Ms. V.T. Jalajakumari on Vaikom Muhammad Basheer's *Bhūmiyuḍe Avakāśikaḷ* - a comparative analysis in terms of Jurisprudential Inquiry Model of Teaching and Discourse Analysis. In this paper, the author dealt with the application of Jurisprudential Inquiry Model (JIM) in the teaching of Malayalam. This

model was developed to make teaching in school as life-like as possible, especially while dealing with controversial issues on which much can be said on both sides. *Bhūmiyude Avakāśikal* was taken as the episode to experimentally test the effectiveness of this model but the qualitative components of the analysis drew the author into close literary and discourse analyses. Close analysis of this text from the point of JIM lesson transcript and transaction yielded eight dissonance constructs that could trigger the jurisprudential inquiry. In order to refine the value conflict analysis needed for JIM, the author studied the basic principals of discourse analysis, selected the most relevant constructs and re-analysed the text on the basis of these, followed by a comparative analysis from different literatures. This study revealed that linguistic analysis could improve the quality of the verbal constructs tested quantitatively in much of educational and social research. The dialogue between a husband and his wife is analysed in this paper. The significance of feminine discourse and dramatic discourse are also discussed by the author.

During the discussion, the participants advised her that she should stick to the discourse analysis alone. Mixing up of too many methodologies will not help. They also opined that putting up the student's at jury's place and evaluating the teaching method is a good approach.

Session II: Semantics/Semiotics

Chairperson: Dr. Puthussery Ramachandran

Dr. Rajeshwari Maheshwaraiah (Karnatak Arts College, Dharwad) presented her paper entitled *Language Patterns of Kannada Daily Newspaper: A Case Study* which mainly dealt with the headlines of a Kannada daily, 'PrajaawaaNi'. As the structure of journalistic language is entirely different from other varieties of language an attempt has been made here to analyse the journalistic language in particular. She emphasized that the language of the Newspapers is not merely an instrument of communication but also a reflection of the daily life of the people. It is the mirror of the ever-changing society. It also embodies poetic factors that at once delights and enlightens all without exceptions. She also noted that as it is a record of the cultural life of the society, its structural pattern as well the communicative style is different.

The next paper was presented by Mr. Darwin, L. (Kerala University) on *Verbal and Non-Verbal Communication*. The process of communication involves the transmission and interchange of ideas, facts, feelings and course of action. People communicate in different ways, the most important of which is through language, i.e. the verbal communication and also

through body language, signs, gestures etc. that is known as non-verbal communication. In this paper the author shows the relationship between the verbal and non-verbal communication.

Ms. Suneeta Tripathy (Berhampur University) presented her paper on *Graphemic Disorders in the Writing of Oriya Developmental Dyslexics*. Developmental dyslexia can be observed in children with normal intelligence and it refers to the reading and writing disorders of the acquired spoken and/or written language skills. The author pointed out the graphemic disorders in the writing of Oriya dyslexic children and discussed a few issues of developmental dyslexia in relation to the normal process of writing acquisition among the Oriya children in Berhampur town and also suggested remedies to aid the process of acquisition of graphemes, to enhance the writing skills.

The General Body Meeting of the D.L.A. was held on 16th evening. The General Body elected the new team of office-bearers and made a detailed review of D.L.A., I.S.D.L., IJDL and DLA News. Dr. Puthussery Ramachandran was elected President for the next year.

17.6.05 (Friday): Morning Session - 1 (9 - 11 a.m.)

Session III: Translation Studies

Chairperson: Dr. Scaria Zacharia

Three papers were presented in this session. Dr. N. Rajasekharan Nair (Annamalai University) presented his paper on *Translating Kannadasan's Novel*. He compared Kannadasan's Tamil novel *Vilak-kumattuma: Civappu* and its Malayalam translation *Vilakkinu Ma:tramo: Cuvappu* by Kadavil Sasi. As Tamil and Malayalam are closely related Dravidian languages, hence it is believed that translation between these languages may be easy. But the speaker showed that a close study of these translations revealed lot of problems. According to him, a translator encounters a number of insurmountable difficulties in the prose translation, and thus he has to look into the communicative context, pragmatic context as well as the semiotic context. The main aim of this study was to assess the quality of the Malayalam translation mainly based on the syntactic, semantic and lexical levels.

Dr. S.A. Shanavas (Kerala University) in his paper on *Translation Studies in Malayalam* discussed translation studies from economic, social, global and professional points of view. According to him, translation studies are considered as a discipline and as a product along with the traditional concept of translation itself. This paper addressed the concept of translation in

the view of modern globalisation and market economy. It is now being treated as an applied art that needs tools, techniques and evaluation.

Dr. S. Josh (Kannur University) in his paper *Language Rights: Basic Issues and Parameters* discussed the issues involved in the question of linguistic rights from a sociological point of view. It traces the origin of the notion of linguistic rights and the initiatives of the world bodies like the United Nations. Among people who stood for monolingualism, especially in the west, the demand for separate language rights faced stiff oppositions as that contradicted the language policy of the governments. This paper delineates the struggle for the regularization of language rights in such countries. In India also, the reunification of states on the basis of language was a major step in sorting out language issues which was again based on accepting the rights of the people who speak a particular language to be unified politically. The constitution of India provides minority linguistic rights along with religious rights. This paper discussed how language rights are entangled with religious rights and how this has been used for the promotion of such languages endowed with rights.

Session IV: Historical Linguistics

Chairperson: Dr. R. Madhivanan

Dr. K. Nachimuthu (Kerala University) presented his paper entitled *Features of the Western Dialect of Old Tamil/Malayalam in the Cilappatikaram*. According to him, Ilango Adigal, the author of the Cilappatikaram, is undoubtedly a poet hailed from Kerala, whose language was referred to as the western dialect or KuTanATTu dialect in ancient times. When the text is read closely, one can discern features of Classical Tamil which are present in modern Malayalam. The feature is identified on the basis of the following methodology. If a feature, which is present in old Tamil, used in Cilappatikaram, is present in modern Malayalam and not present in modern standard literary Tamil or in the dialects of modern Tamil, then it is traced to the old western dialect of Tamil or pre-Malayalam.

In the discussion, Prof. V.I. Subramoniam pointed out that the language used in Cilappatikaram is a west-coast dialect. Dr. Mallikarjuna Sharma wanted to know about the influence of Sanskrit in the language of Cilappatikaram. Dr. Nachimuthu said that this being a western dialect, it might have some Sanskrit words. Dr. Madhivanan pointed out the similarities in some grammatical forms between Sindhi and Dravidian languages. Dr. M. Sadasivam also participated in the discussion.

Dr. R. Madhivanan in his paper entitled *A Comparative Study of the Indus Script and South Indian Rock-Art Script*, based on the new findings of

Indus script among the rock-art scripts in South India and generally in other states and in Sri Lanka, opined that Indus Valley script might have been pan-Indian in character. A comparative study is attempted for the first time analysing the following features of the basic structures which are individual signs, compound signs, word format signs, pictographic signs, pre-Harappan signs, mature-Harappan signs and late-Harappan signs. From this analysis, the comparative study shows that the Indus Valley script invariably was in use as a common script for the people of the Indus Valley civilization and the Dravidians, preferably the Tamils of South India. He classified the inscriptions according to different periods and explained the differences between the scripts belonging to each period. The relation between consonant inscriptions and their corresponding numerical values were also explained. He also explained the occurrences of the sounds in the initial, medial and final positions.

Prof. V.I. Subramoniam appreciated the work he did and asked whether the sounds *l*, *ḷ* and *ḻ* occur in the old scripts. Dr. Mallikarjuna Sharma, Mr. P. Ramanathan and Dr. Kamatchi also participated in the discussion.

Mr. P. Ramanathan in his paper *Dravidian-Indo-European Connections Proposed by G. Devaney in his 'Ver-c-col katturaikal' in "Centamil Celvi" in 1964-77*, in order to show the Dravidian-Indo-European connections, gave the English version of G. Devaney's 1977-80 studies in Centamil Celvi on the spread in different language families of the world, of derivatives from 22 basic Tamil words. This paper also dealt with some other connections between Tamil and Indo-European which had been proposed by Devaney in his essays 'Ver-c-col katturaikal', published in Centamil Celvi, Madras between 1964 and 1977.

As additional information to this paper, Dr. Nachimuthu mentioned the book *ȧadibhaaṣa* by Chattambi Swamikal, wherein Tamil is stated the mother of all languages. It was also pointed out that if there are similarities in more than 500 vocabulary items between two languages, then there is a possibility of these two languages being similar.

Session V: Phonetics and Phonology

Chairperson: Dr. N.R. Gopinatha Pillai

Ms. R. Seetha (Osmania University) in her paper entitled *Duration and Geminate Consonants in Tamil at Word Level* made an attempt to study the duration of single vs. geminate consonants in Tamil words as spoken by 10 speakers about the distinction between the duration of consonants in

similar/different environments and the extent of influence of gemination on duration of the syllable and word at large. A detailed acoustic phonetic analysis of the geminates reveals that consonants occur, like in other Dravidian languages, in initial and the final position and the geminates, always, word medially. The ratio between single and the double consonant range from 1:4 to 1:2. There is no significant difference between the male and female speakers with regard to the articulation of geminates.

Ms. Jayashree C. Shanbal (A.I.I.S.H., Mysore) presented her paper *Phonological Awareness in Bilingual-Biliterate Children: An Investigation in Dravidian Languages* which was based on experimental findings. This paper investigates phonological awareness in bilingual-biliterate children and the cross-language transfer in Dravidian languages. The subjects include twenty normal children in the age group of ten to twelve years. Five children in each group of Tamil-Kannada, Malayalam-Kannada, Telugu-Kannada and Kannada-Kannada were selected. Children with one of the Dravidian languages as native language, exposed to reading and writing in Kannada for at least 5 years were selected. The basic reading level in Kannada was established by using the Kannada reading test. The children were assessed on syllable oddity, syllable segmentation, phoneme oddity and phoneme segmentation skills. The results of the study are discussed with reference to the influence of native language on phonological awareness skills in Kannada.

Morning Session - 2 (11.15 a.m. to 1 p.m.)

Session VI: Acoustic Phonetics/Speech Synthesis

Chairperson: Prof. Rajasekharan Nair

Mr. Shashikanta Tarai (I.S.D.L., Thiruvananthapuram) presented his paper on *Retroflex Study on Oriya Nasal for Speech Synthesis*. He described the Oriya retroflex nasal following the non-instrumental study and after that he gave the details of acoustic description in terms of pitch, intensity, duration and formant. He analysed most of the allophonic distributions of the Retroflex Oriya nasal. The paper explained the need of such study for each of the phonemes in a language to generate natural voice output in a text-to-speech system. Mr. Pradeep Balachandran from Bangalore and Dr. Sreedevi participated in the discussion. They wanted to know what type of software was used. One of the participants wanted to know whether the retroflex plosives are available in Oriya. She suggested to extend the study to other phonemes. The author informed that he has started to do that, as it is needed for speech analysis.

Mr. Pradeep Balachandran (M.S. Ramaiah School of Advance Studies, Bangalore) presented *Spectral Envelope and Formant Frequency Estimation of Voiced Speech Using Wavelet Transform*. He is the co-author along with Mr. T.V. Ananthapadmanabha. The aim of his paper was to show the efficiency of the Dyadic Wavelet Transform, a technique for speech analysis. The proposed technique gives a better frequency resolution compared to the Linear Prediction Technique and the Cepstrum Technique. The paper shows the better performance in the analysis of the female and children voices with high frequency, nasal sounds and the noisy signals. Hon. Professor V.I. Subramoniam admired his attempt and wanted to know whether the author had considered the linguistic implications of the study. The study concentrates on the mathematical accuracy which is the part of the present need of the speech analysis.

At the end of the session, Dr. Mahidas Bhattacharya (I.S.D.L., Thiruvananthapuram) presented the paper *On Absolute Value of Some Bengali Consonant Phonemes*. Dr. Bhattacharya wanted to show the absence of absolute consonant phonemes in a language due to the articulatory reasons. Therefore for the generation, synthesis and perceiving of a consonant one has to reclassify the phonemic units according to their phonetic realization in the form of allophone. He shows the acoustic graphs of so-called consonant phoneme occurring in different positions in a word referring the formant properties. In the time-domain analysis, the consonant carries the relative core feature in respect of the neighbouring vowels. It has no absolute feature and the realization of consonant is relative. Mr. Pradeep Balachandran mentioned the difference of formant frequencies of two consonants, but he admitted the need of neighbouring value to specify the particular consonant.

Session VII: Syntax/Stylistics

Chairperson: Dr. K. Rangan

Three papers were presented on syntax and two on stylistics. Mr. B. Vijayanarayana (Osmania University) presented his paper on *Relative Structures in Telugu*. Strategies that are employed in the construction of relative structures in different languages need not necessarily be the same. In this paper, the author dealt with those strategies, which are employed in the construction of relative structures in Telugu. He illustrated with several examples the formation of relative structures in Telugu. Dr. Nachimuthu, Dr. M. Susheela, Dr. Srikumar and others took part in the discussion.

Dr. K. Srikumar (Dr. B.R. Ambedkar University, Agra) in his paper *Modality in Malayalam* examined the modal constructions in Malayalam and determined the relative positions of modality in the sentential structure in Malayalam. Dr. Srikumar particularly looked at the modal suffixes *aNam*

and *aam*, which are reduced forms of the verbs *vēnam* 'want' and *aakunnu* 'be' or 'become' respectively in Malayalam. He explained the restrictions in forming the interrogative and negative constructions with the modal construction. Prof. Rangan, Dr. Shanavas, Dr. Susheela and others participated in the discussion.

Dr. M. Susheela (Tamil University, Tanjavur) presented her paper on *Compound Noun Formation in Hindi and Tamil*. Compound nouns form a very successful means of compressing semantic and syntactic information into a highly compact form. This compression is accomplished without losing essential semantic information. Dr. Susheela explored the syntactic and semantic properties of compound nouns in Hindi and Tamil; the former representing the Indo-Aryan family of languages and the latter, the Dravidian family. With several examples she made an attempt to point out the similarities and the dissimilarities in the compound noun formation in these two languages. While discussing about the paper, Dr. Srikumar, Prof. R.M. Sundaram, Mr. Vijayanarayana and others asked for some clarifications.

Mr. P. Murugan (University of Madras, Chennai) in his paper *A Linguistic Study of Tamil Daily Newspapers* analysed the syntactic structures of Tamil journals. The main concern of this paper was to bring out the salient features of the syntactic structures that are different from other registers. He made his observations on some elliptical sentences and how to derive long complete sentences from them. The participants pointed out that he should make a classification of the sentences, form rules and give an analytical study of the sentences, if he wants to make a point clear.

Dr. K. Ratna Shiela Mani (Nagarjuna University) presented her paper on *Appraisal Theory in the Interpretation of a Poem*. This study was based on Halliday's 'Functional Systemic Grammar'. Appraisal is a system of interpersonal meanings. The resources of appraisal are used from negotiation of our social relationships, by telling our listeners or readers how we feel about things and people. The author analysed the poem 'If you were Dead' by Sarojini Naidu using the appraisal theory by way of identifying the negative/positive patterns expressing emotions.

The participants in the discussion - Dr. Vijayanarayana, Prof. K. Rangan, Dr. Shanavas and others - observed that this is useful for interpreting a literary text.

Afternoon Session (2.30 - 5 p.m.)

Session VIII: Clinical Linguistics

Chairperson: Mr. T. Madhava Menon

All the papers presented in this session were based on empirical data collected from patients having various speech defects. Dr. N. Remabai

(Kerala University) spoke on *Education of the Disability Children*. The other papers presented in this session were by a group of researchers from A.I.I.S.H., Mysore. The papers were: *Segmental Spell-Out in Phonological Encoding in Persons with Stuttering* by Mr. B. Arunkumar Thangavel, *Praxis Control and its Influence on Pragmatic Skills in Developmental Apraxia of Speech* by Ms. N. Banumathy, *Verbal Praxis Skill in Spontaneous vs. Imitated Utterances in Persons with Down Syndrome* by Ms. Vani Rupela, *Information Content Analysis in the Conversational Samples of Fluent Aphasia: A Case Study* by Mr. Pradyumn Srivastava, and *Conversation Analysis in a Case of Bilingual (Hindi-English) Fluent Aphasia* by Mr. G. Ram Mohan.

Session IX: Comparative Linguistics

Chairperson: Dr. Naduvattom Gopalakrishnan

Mr. K.M. Aravindakshan (University of Mysore) presented his paper on *Folk Lore Folk Abuses: A Comparative Observation of Abuses in Kannada and Malayalam*. According to him, abuses have importance more or less equal to proverbs and riddles. Rage is an emotion, generally solved in folk-life by abuses, irrespective of the relationships. In India, especially in the Dravidian area, abuses have similarity in their ideas. He also pointed out that social environment, belief system, level of education, age and gender are the factors determining the types of abuses. Scolding, cursing, abusing and provoking have deep roots in the culture and worldview of a given folk clan. In this paper the speaker observed the comparative aspects of abuses in Kannada and Malayalam. Besides linguistic aspects, folk cultural aspects and worldview are also compared. The study is based on field-data collected from south Karnataka and north Kerala.

Dr. N.P. Unni pointed out a situation where calling someone even by his caste name is an abuse nowadays. Mr. Aravindakshan agreed to this. Dr. Radhakrishnan wanted to know whether abuses change in the course of time. Mr. Aravindakshan replied that some abuses survive in course of time but certainly new words are coined and some get obsolete. Dr. N. Varija and Dr. Naduvattom Gopalakrishnan also participated in the discussion.

Dr. R.K. Haldorai in his paper *p- > h- Changes in Badaga* analysed the extent of p- > h- in Badaga and its irrelevance for settling the relationship of Badaga with Kannada. He wanted to say that Badaga might have converted from Kannada over earlier times. In the present day Badaga there is a tendency that h- > ϕ and only the vowels are left to begin the words. He concluded that, as many initial p- words are in use in Badaga language, unlike Kannada, all initial p- words are not changed into initial h- words in Badaga, there is no p- > h- change in word middle or final positions in Badaga, in a few places s- replaces h- in Badaga and in a few places initial p- and initial h- forms of the same words are in different meanings in Badaga, it is not correct therefore to hold p- > h- as a major criterion in

settling the relationship of Badaga with Kannada. The speaker opined that Badaga is now an independent language.

Participating in the discussion, Prof. Gopinathan Nair said that so far Badaga is considered as a dialect of Kannada. If he wants to establish it as an independent language then he has to make detailed studies on syntactic and grammatical levels also. Dr. Unni wanted to know whether Badaga has any literature. Dr. Haldorai replied that it has no separate script and uses the Tamil script for writing. Besides this, Dr. Puthusseri Ramachandran, Dr. Radhakrishnan and Dr. Naduvattom Gopalakrishnan also participated in the discussion.

Dr. N. Varija (University of Delhi) presented her paper on *Linguistic Convergence of Bhalavali Bhasha with Local Kannada*. Bhalavali Bhasha, a dialect of Marathi spoken by Saraswata Brahmin community, is found in south Karnataka. It is highly influenced by Dravidian languages Tulu and Kannada. In this paper, the speaker has attempted to cite the examples of convergence observed at various linguistic levels.

Taking part in the discussion Prof. Gopinathan Nair agreed that the examples shown indicate that there is convergence. Dr. Unni wanted to know whether this is a dialect of Marathi, to which the author responded positively. Dr. Naduvattom Gopalakrishnan, Dr. Madhivanan, Dr. K. Viswanatham and others took part in the discussion.

Mr. S.N. Upadhyaya spoke on *Indian-ness in Indian Languages: Their Division into Different Families - Perverse*. He said that it is simply assumed that genetic differences exist between South Indian and North Indian languages. This assumption is based on the point of contrast exhibited by Caldwell between South Indian languages and Sanskrit. None charted and cultivated the fields between the vernaculars. Possibly, further research may disclose the existence in the northern vernaculars of distinctively Dravidian forms and roots. He said that the 'Indian-ness' in the Indian languages could be revealed only by doing the empirical, classificatory and theoretical studies together.

Taking part in the discussion, Dr. Sadasivam pointed out that all languages aim for national integration. Moreover languages are used for the emotional integration of the people also.

Saturday (18.6.05): Morning Session - 1 (9 - 11 a.m.)

Session X: Grammar

Chairperson: Dr. Sooda L. Bhatt

Dr. A. Kamatchi (Annamalai University) presented his paper on *Why should not the so-called Indo-Aryan Words in Sangam Tamil be treated as Cognates?*. The speaker did not want to argue that no borrowings had

been taking place in Dravidian languages from Indo-Aryan, however, the so-called statement of borrowings in old Tamil from Indo-Aryan seems to be disputable from the point of comparative linguistics. This study envisaged the possibility to treat them as cognates from various viewpoints of comparative linguistics. Extensive discussions took place. Dr. Naduvattom Gopalakrishnan and others asked for some clarifications.

The next paper in this session was presented by Dr. N. Panchatcharam on *The Origin and Inclusion of Kiru, Kinru and Aaninru in the Tamizh Grammar*. According to him, aphorism 143 in 'Nannul', under the caption 'Pataviyal', clearly stated that Kiru, Kinru and Aaninru would be with the verbs as suffixes showing the present tense along with number, time and gender.

Dr. N.P. Unni, Dr. Naduvattom Gopalakrishnan and others participated in the discussion. Prof. V.I. Subramoniam appreciated the speaker and asked for some verification.

Ms. Nairrita Bhattacharya (I.S.D.L., Thiruvananthapuram) in her paper *Bengali-Malayalam: Compound Verb Formation* analysed the compound verb formation and their use in these two languages. Malayalam verbs, currently in use, show very close resemblance with the denominative verbal constructions, found in a middle Bengali text of sixteenth century.

Dr. N.P. Unni, Dr. K. Viswanatham, Dr. Mahidas Bhattacharya and others took part in the discussion.

Session XI: Sociolinguistics - I

Chairperson: Dr. J. Neethivanan

Dr. K. Ramanjaneyulu (P.S. Telugu University) spoke on *Dialectal Variations in Kannada* which is mainly aimed at showing different linguistic variations in Kannada, where social dialects are predominant. Modern Kannada starts from 17th century. Standard varieties have evolved separately for north and south. Local dialects are corrupted by the influence of other languages, especially in the border areas. Social variations are heavily determined by trade. Caste is also another social factor determining dialect variations. The speaker also pointed out that there are a number of studies on each dialect but there is no comparative study of the dialects. Prof. Neethivanan, Prof. Gopinathan Nair, Mr. P. Ramanathan and others participated in the discussion.

Dr. M. Sadasivam spoke on *Aspects of Feminism in Language Structures*. Here he showed with examples that feminist thinking has caused change in the lexical, grammatical and semantic structures of several languages.

Taking part in the discussion, Dr. Suneeta Tripathy noted that some words like 'actor', 'doctor', etc. are general terms that can include both genders. Dr. Varija and Dr. Mallikarjuna Sharma also participated in the discussion.

Dr. S. Kunjamma presented her paper on *Code Mixing in Malayalam*. Malayalam speakers easily switch and mix other language codes, especially from English into their mother tongue, in almost every context of daily life. In this paper, she attempted an enquiry into this phenomenon. How far the grammatical rules were violated in these contexts were also examined. Data from selective contexts like conversation, film songs and advertisements were taken for analysis. Dr. Neethivanan wanted to know whether code mixing is a usual tendency in Malayalam. Dr. Kunjamma replied that this is very frequently found in recent days. Education and media are responsible for increase in code mixing in Malayalam. Dr. Mallikarjuna Sharma also participated in the discussion.

Mr. T.R. Muralikrishnan (Kerala University) spoke on *Ecolinguistics and Globalisation: Do we have an Option?*. Ecolinguistics is a cover term linking ecology and language. Linguists have to take up the study of some languages urgently where the languages are disappearing faster. Globalisation, which intends to bring a more integrated world economy, can affect diversity, because it attempts to bring homogeneity. As a result the major languages take over the minor languages as major languages offer access to the whole world industrial economy. The minor languages gradually fade out when they are not spoken by anybody. The paper points out to this problem, now we face as a reality.

In the discussion, Dr. Shanavas noted that minority languages are disappearing. Even in English, there are some variations. Internet language is such an example. Dr. Neethivanan wanted to know whether government is promoting globalisation. Mr. Muralikrishnan replied that the government has to follow their policy. Dr. Madhivanan said that here also the theory of the survival of the fittest is applicable. A strategy in the use of language will enable the society to survive.

Dr. K. Lekhakumari in her paper *Social Interactions in KayaR by Thakazhi* tried to reveal how effectively the novelist places the society as the hero and heroine in this book. Through interactions between the characters, the novelist reveals a lot of social changes at a time.

Session XII: Grammar/Manuscript Studies

Chairperson: Dr. K. Nachimuthu

Mr. T. Anbuchselvan (S.B. School of Tamil Studies) presented *An Introduction to the Sociological View of Nannul's Educational Thoughts*. The

ancient Tamil grammar 'Nannul' describes different educational thoughts as the significance of good teacher and bad teacher, good student and bad student, method of teaching and method of learning. It can be considered as a social institution, as it represents contemporary educational thoughts of the ninth century. The speaker elaborated certain points on Nannul's thoughts on education in comparison with educational systems of different societies.

Mr. J. Muthuselvam (International School of Tamil Studies) in his paper *A Brief History of Tamil Manuscripts: The Editing, an Introduction*, described briefly the history of the editing and publication of Tamil manuscripts since 1812.

Mr. T. Amudhan spoke on *Techniques referenced by Mailainadhar*. These three papers were presented in Tamil.

Ms. T. Mangaiyarkarasi spoke on *Functions of Folk Songs in the Life of Tamil Folk Women*. She described through examples how folk songs expose both women's fortunes and misfortunes in contemporary society.

Mr. Vidhu Narayan (Kerala University) spoke on *Semantic Problems in the preparation of Tamil Malayalam Lexicon*.

Ms. S. Suja (Kerala University) spoke on *Kinship and Translation*.

Morning Session - 2 (11.15 a.m. - 1 p.m.)

Session XIII: Folklore

Chairperson: Prof. V.S. Sharma

Mr. K.P. Suresh spoke on *Social Organisation and Changes among the Thachanadan Muppans of Wayanad*. This paper was presented in Malayalam.

Prof. V.S. Sharma presented his paper on *Dravidian Elements in some major Performing Arts of Kerala*.

Session XIV: Sociolinguistics - II

Chairperson: Dr. N. Rajendran

Mr. Pradeep Kumar K.S. (K.I.R.T.A.D.S., Kozhikkode) spoke on *Linguistic Identity and Ethnicity among the Two Religious Groups in Kerala*, where he analysed the importance of language in ethnic identity among the Hindus and Muslims of north Malabar. The religious groups were considered as the ethnic groups. The two religious groups Hindus and Muslims

have dialectal variations which is noted in words of common usage, viz. names, kinship terms, ways of greetings etc. Muslims use Arabi Malayalam, keeping their cultural identity and peculiar food habits, whereas Hindus have their own dialect with a distinct cultural identity. In the discussion, Mr. Parameswaran wanted to know whether media has any role in this dialect variation. Mr. Pradeep Kumar replied that media is certainly playing a significant role. Dr. R.V. Thampuran gave some suggestions on the usage of the term 'ethnicity'. Mr. T.M. Menon pointed out that 'ethnicity' is a difficult term to define. You have to consider the biological, physical and cultural features to decide a particular group as ethnic or not.

Ms. Indu Menon (K.I.R.T.A.D.S., Kozhikkode) spoke on *Linguistic Imperialism and Ideologies of Anti-Language in a Dravidian Context*. She tried to find out in this paper how anti-languages are developed in the Dravidian context. The paper showed how effectively anti-language is used in a community by a certain group of people. This is a means of communication by a particular group within a language group itself. These groups are mainly the criminals, underworld gangs etc. Anti-language is used mainly to keep the identity of the group secret. This is used as a defensive mechanism. It helps in language growth. The graffiti used in school, trains and public toilets are also anti-language. She also opined that anti-language is used 99% by male members in the society.

There was active discussion on this paper. Dr. N.P. Unni pointed out that taboo words are used everywhere. Dr. Shanavas wanted to know whether the language used in Mr. O.V. Vijayan's 'Dharma Puranam' is anti-language. She replied positively. Mr. Parameswaran wanted to know whether spoonerism is anti-language. The speaker opined that as there is some amount of secrecy maintained here, this also is anti-language. Prof. K. Nachimuthu, Dr. Rajasekharan Nair, Dr. Rajendran, Prof. Manickavasagom and others also participated in the discussion.

Session XV: Psycholinguistics/Machine Translation

Chairperson: Dr. B. Gopinathan Nair

Ms. K.J. Remadevi Sreenivas (A.I.I.S.H., Mysore) presented her paper on *Phonological Profile in Kannada*, where she attempted to develop phonological profiles in Kannada, which has many advantages over articulation tests in phonological assessment.

Dr. A. Rosemary (Kerala University) spoke on *Writing Skills of Mentally-Retarded Children*. This is an analytical study of writing skills from a psycholinguistic perspective.

Mr. R. Bathri Devanath (Tamil University, Tanjavur) presented a paper on *A Psycholinguistic Approach in Second-Language Teaching*.

Mr. Purnendu Maity (I.S.D.L., Thiruvananthapuram) spoke on *Machine Translation*, where he described different models of machine translation and how they can be applied for actual translation of a scientific text.

Afternoon Session (2.30 - 4 p.m.)

Prof. V.I. Subramoniam delivered a special lecture on *Neurolinguistics*. Dr. S.N. Upadhyaya was the moderator of the session. Prof. Subramoniam explained how brain is used in communication and in decision-making. Of all the functions of the brain, speech and memory are the most important ones. A message is communicated through speech. Speech is a higher function bestowed on human beings; it is not just sound sequences, it also has meaning. Language can also be produced by signs, gestures or even by silence. Birds also have their own language in a limited way. The brain has several functions. If the function on one side is lost, the other side of the brain is capable of carrying out the functions of the damaged part. He also pointed out that there should be co-ordination between linguistic studies and speech-therapy studies. More studies in Neurolinguistics are essential to develop interdisciplinary studies such as speech therapy and clinical Linguistics.

Dr. Upadhyaya thanked Prof. Subramoniam for his enlightening speech. Dr. V.S. Sharma was of opinion that practicing yoga is good in controlling emotions. Prof. Manickavasagom wanted to know whether the brain function could be stimulated by any method as the brain loses some functions as age advances, but such devices are not known till now. Mr. T.M. Menon noted that as far as brain is a living object, it is subjected to loss due to biological activities. There are biologically pre-determined programmes activated by chemicals. It produces electricity and helps in the physical actions of the brain. The capacity of the brain is much more than already used by any person. Perhaps yoga and Ayurveda can help in activating the brain more efficiently.

Valedictory Session (3 - 4 p.m.)

The valedictory function was held in the Rajaraja Varma auditorium. Among the dignitaries present were Prof. J. Neethivanan, Prof. V.I. Subramoniam, Prof. B. Gopinathan Nair and Dr. K. Retnamma. Prof. Neethivanan presided over the function.

Dr. K. Retnamma in her welcome address congratulated the delegates for their active participation in the conference. She pointed out

that the future of the DLA is in the hands of the young people. Prof. Gopinathan Nair presented a brief academic report of the conference.

Dr. Neethivanan in his valedictory address noted that this is the only organization that conducts conferences regularly. He mentioned that the word 'Dravidian' is misunderstood politically; even the Dravidians have some inhibitions in using the word. Though the name includes the word 'Dravidian', it is not restricted to Dravidian studies only. He also said that in the census report of 1961, 500 Dravidian languages were mentioned, but in 1991 report only 100 languages are mentioned. He opined that the linguists should have a say in the census operations.

Two awards were presented in this session. The *Best-Paper Award* to a young research scholar was awarded to Mr. K. Parameswaran from Kerala University, and a special award, the *L.V. Ramaswamy Aiyar Award*, for this year only, was awarded to the team from A.I.I.S.H., Mysore for their presentation on Clinical Linguistics.

Prof. K. Rangan recalled the last moments of Prof. A.P. Andrews Kutty at Tanjavur, where he was giving a lecture for a refresher course.

Prof. V.I. Subramoniam spoke on the future plan of the I.S.D.L. and the D.L.A. He said that studies regarding speech therapy are to be expanded. He also emphasized that language survey should be done thoroughly and the voicing of other languages should also be done. He was happy to see the participation of many new faces and especially in the participation of many young scholars. He urged the delegates to continue their interactions with the I.S.D.L.

Mr. Ram Mohan and Dr. N. Varija shared their experiences in the conference.

Dr. Mahidas Bhattacharya proposed a vote of thanks.

After the National Anthem, the function came to an end by 4 p.m.

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